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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Conference Gets Town Meeting of Air

America's Town Meeting of the Air ill originate on November 9 at the eague's 60th National Conference on overnment which will be held Novem- er 7-10 at Kansas City.

The broadcast, main feature of the inner meeting, will be over the na- onal radio hookup of 325 stations ffiliated with the American Broadcast- ng Company. Two speakers at the Con- erence will be selected to discuss a urrent issue in the field of local or tate government. Moderator for the iscussion, which will include a period f questions from the audience, will be ames F. Murray, Jr. The program will un from 8:00 to 8:45 P.M., Central tandard Time.

Several topics have been tentatively uggested but League members and thers are invited to submit additional deas. Among the topics under con- ideration are "Crime and Politics," State Legislature and City Relation- hips," "Is the Spoils System Neces- ary?," "Are Our Political Ethics Im- roving?" and "The People's Right to now." The topic chosen will be an- ounced shortly before the Conference.

Other plans for the Kansas City eeting have been moving forward. n Sunday, November 7, a tour of ansas City for Conference delegates ill take place followed by a buffet upper, weather permitting, at the Sad- le and Sirloin Club. Otherwise, the upper will be held in the Little Theater t the Municipal Auditorium. A tour f the Nelson Art Gallery and tea are lso being arranged for women dele- ates during the Conference period.

Gallup Appoints Nominating Committee

A nominating committee of five League members has been appointed by President George H. Gallup to recommend candidates for officers and Council members for election at the annual membership meeting to be held November 8 in connection with the 60th National Conference on Government in Kansas City.

John S. Linen

Members of the committee are: John S. Linen, League vice president, chairman; Frederick L. Bird, member of the Council; William Collins, regional vice president; Mark S. Matthews, member of the Council, and Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer.

The committee will make nominations to fill ten vacancies which occur annually on the Council and will recommend candidates for expiring terms among the League's officers. Mr. Linen has invited suggestions for candidates.

League Founder Dies

Charles Francis Adams, one of the League's founders, died recently in Boston. Mr. Adams, a lawyer and ex-secretary of the Navy, was one of the most distinguished Americans of his day to support the calling of the 1894 National Conference for Good City Government in Philadelphia.

Book to Be Based on NML Radio Series

As a result of the success of the "Citizens at Work" dramatized radio broadcasts by the League with the National Broadcasting Company, the Sterling Publishing Company, New York, proposes to publish a book based on the broadcasts.

The scripts, prepared by NBC writers, tell the stories of citizen accomplishments in communities which have competed in the All-America Cities contest co-sponsored by the League and *Look* magazine.

Tentatively entitled *Citizens in Action*, the book is scheduled to appear in the fall. The publishing company will aim it at teenage and adult readers, offering it especially to school systems as supplementary reading in civics, social science and government courses.

The book, which will be illustrated, will be prepared by Sterling staff writers in cooperation with the League staff and will have an introduction by Alfred Willoughby, League executive director.

Childs Appointed to Probe Medical Examiners

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, was appointed on June 9 by Luther Gulick, city administrator, to look into operations of the office of the chief medical examiner of the city.

Mr. Childs supervised the preparation of the League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System*, which was a joint report by six leading national organizations in the fields of health, law and civil service. The New York *World Telegram and Sun* said of Mr. Childs' appointment: "With him in the driver's seat, the public may soon expect the reforms that are so badly needed."

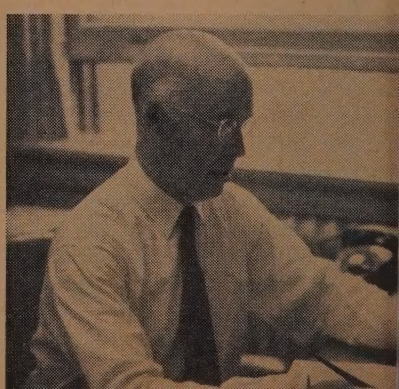
Work Begins on Model State Planning Law

The League has begun work on a model state planning law.

Planning for the conservation and optimum use of land and other resources and for meeting long-range needs for public works is recognized as an indispensable tool of modern government. Authorities agree that state planning laws generally need strengthening. The proposed model would provide for a state planning agency with adequate powers and machinery for technical assistance and guidance for regional and other local efforts.

Coleman Woodbury, author and planning consultant of South Kent, Connecticut, and the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University have been engaged to proceed with the work.

The League has been assured of the active cooperation of public officials, professional planners and civic leaders. The decision to proceed with a model stems from a meeting on April 17 at which eleven authorities on the subject discussed the project and recommended that the League prepare model state planning legislation to be ready for consideration in 1955 legislatures.



Richard S. Childs at his desk in NML office

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Editorial Comment

The Nature of the Union

THERE has always been too much talk about the alleged conflict between state and federal governments. The original purpose and the true genius of the federal union are cooperation, not conflict.

This is not to deny the invigorating influence of competition within the system nor the salutary effects of a certain amount of checking and balancing among different governmental agencies.

But the great objects sought by the makers of the United States constitution were affirmative, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." While these ends were to be served primarily by the new federal government, their achievement was to depend in large measure upon the vigor and cooperation of the states in "a more perfect Union."

Technological and economic progress has made these national objects even more vital than they were in 1787. Inevitably this has meant a very great increase in the tasks and responsibilities of government up and down the line, with a substantial increase in the relative importance of the national government. This development has naturally caused some alarm on the ground that it threatens to undermine the states as independent, self-acting elements in the system and tends toward bureaucratic centralization.

There is some justification for the alarm but too many have sought to reverse the trend by forbidding o checking government rather than b the affirmative method of strengthen ing state and local institutions. Th corrective is to recognize the essen tially cooperative nature of ou federal union of 48 states. It is ele mentary that only the strong ca cooperate. The weak are destined t be led, driven or destroyed. W know that America must be stron to survive in the modern world. Th only hope for the states is for then to be strong cooperating elements i the American system.

These truths are strikingly illus trated, in two quite different bu equally vital areas of governmenta action, by two articles which appea in this issue of the REVIEW—"We'r All in the Same Boat" and "Defens Against Recession." The first articl demonstrates the necessity not onl for federal-state but for federal state-local cooperation in civil de fense. The second demonstrates th need for similar cooperation in plan ning and financing governmenta programs and activities so as to pre vent or cushion unhealthy economi fluctuations.

In both fields it is apparent that substantial amount of federal leader ship and some federal financing ar necessary in order to enable stat and local governments to play thei appointed roles. On the other hand it is equally clear that the states an localities must be prepared to tak initiatives and to exercise heavy po litical, financial and administrativ responsibility.

Neither of these jobs can be done at all without federal participation and guidance. Neither of them can be done properly, safely or adequately without the energetic and wholehearted participation of state and local governments.

The extent and effectiveness of state and local participation and consequently the extent to which these and other modern responsibilities of government can be met without a further radical trend toward centralization will depend largely upon the states. This is true because the states occupy the strategic middle sector of our system and are the mediating element that determines to a large extent the relation between the citizen and his city, county, town or village on the one hand and the more remote central government in Washington, on the other.

The states have somewhat jeopardized their position by failing to adjust to the transformation of America from a nation of farmers and frontiersmen into the greatest urban and industrial power on earth. There are constitutional and political reasons why the federal government has in recent years often shown more responsiveness to urban needs than have most of the states. In civil defense, surely, and in defense against depression, probably, there must be some direct dealings between the federal government and local governments, particularly those in our great metropolitan areas.

There are limits, however, beyond which the states cannot be by-passed without threatening the transformation of our system from a union to a consolidation with all important political and governmental power focused at the center. One hundred and fifty years ago Jefferson pointed out that the only defense against this tendency is strong government in the states. Under modern conditions a strong state government must necessarily be one which commands the confidence of its urban citizens and responds to their legitimate needs as convincingly and as readily as it does to those of its rural citizens.

These considerations must inevitably concern the national Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and the numerous official and unofficial commissions in the states which are currently reviewing the basic responsibilities and relationships of our several levels of government. These same considerations have for some time been moving the National Municipal League to devote increasing attention to modernization of state governments and to the discovery of solutions for the complex and vexing problems of government in our metropolitan communities.

Defense Against Recession

States, cities and groups have important part to play in avoiding disastrous effects of boom and bust periods.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from *Defense Against Recession: Policy for Greater Economic Stability,* a statement on national policy prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Copies of the 49-page report are available without charge from CED, 444 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

GOVERNMENT action to promote economic stability does not require an expansion of government powers but only a better use of the influence that government traditionally and properly exercises in a free society, for example, through monetary policy. This will not restrict the freedom of individuals and it will not restrict the individual adjustments that are necessary for economic efficiency and growth. On the contrary, greater stability will give these adjustments a more favorable environment, permitting the individual to make his own plans and adjustments with less fear that these will be upset by extreme fluctuations in the economy as a whole.

The automatic tendency of government budgets to respond to an economic decline in a stabilizing manner is one of our main defenses against recession. Additional steps should be taken to confirm and strengthen this tendency.

Some of our most important continuing backlogs of needs are for services of state and local government such as education, health and roads. State and local expenditures have been rising and, in normal circumstances, would be expected to rise further.

If there were a recession, however, the tax receipts of these governments would decline. Certain expenditures, as for relief, would rise. Deficits would appear in current account budgets. There would then be pressure for retrenchment in current expenditures and for going slow in capital outlays. This would be unfortunate, not only from the standpoint of stabilization but also because of the community needs involved.

State and local governments are ordinarily required—and it is good practice—to balance their current account in one-year budgets. Such budgets should also make provision in good times for future capital improvements. This is not normally done and it is a great weakness in state and municipal finance. A general surplus is difficult to accumulate and difficult to hold. It is feasible, however, to set aside annually in good times amounts which can be used for future capital improvements not presently required. Tax rates adequate to do this would provide some cushion against the necessity to cut current expenditures in a recession.

In many cases existing debt limits would seriously restrict the ability of state or local jurisdictions to carry on their budget programs in a recession. These debt limits should be reviewed and revised if justified

If there were a serious economic decline, many governmental units would encounter great financial difficulty in carrying on their planned programs of capital expenditures. And especially, if it may become desirable to step up state and local expenditures still further as a recovery measure, steps will have to be taken not only to provide financial assistance but also to assure adequate advance planning.

Preparing for Public Works

Flexible use of state and local construction as an anti-depression instrument involves two interrelated problems, planning and finance. Apparently there is on hand a sufficient backlog of plans to keep the current rate of construction running for about a year. If state and local governments should encounter financial difficulties, however, appropriations for the preparation of drawings and specifications would be sharply cut, especially in view of the expectation, based on past experience, that at some point the federal government will step in and provide funds for planning. The interruption of the planning function at the outset of a recession would mean an interruption in actual construction after a year or so.

The development of long-run capital budgets by many cities and states and the growth of metropolitan planning techniques and staffs will help to maintain the continuity of state and local construction. These institutions could well be adopted more widely, not only for this reason but also because of their contribution to government efficiency.

At the end of World War II, and again in 1949, the federal government arranged for loans to enable state and local governments to prepare plans in advance of need. Such a program should be revived. There would probably be little activity under the program in prosperous times, but the funds would be drawn upon in time of recession and would help to sustain the volume of state and local construction.

To sustain the total volume of state and local construction in a serious recession and, even more, to bring about an increase, is likely to require federal financial aid. At least, the question of such aid will arise and it will be important to have a federal policy to deal with the situation formulated in advance. Uncertainty about federal policy in this respect would be a major obstacle to the prosecution of local projects, including projects that the local authorities could and would carry on by themselves if they were confident that no aid would be forthcoming.

We may encounter a situation in which a substantial expansion of public works is desirable, in which the most urgently needed projects are at the state-local level and in which, despite all efforts to encourage purchase of state and local securities by private investors, state-local construction would not rise and might even decline unless federal financial aid were provided. Faced with this choice, we believe that federal aid, in the form of ex-

tension of credit for state-local construction, is clearly preferable to the expansion of less urgent federal works. This aid could take the form of direct loans to the state and local governments or of the purchase of marketable securities, either directly or from other investors.

Local Problems of Recession

Every economic decline has important local aspects. Some communities and regions are hit harder than others. Even when the nation as a whole is enjoying high prosperity, some localities are depressed.

The measures we have discussed for preventing depressions and moderating recessions would, of course, help in avoiding or solving these local problems. But they are not in themselves sufficient. There is a whole area of special measures, in existence or needed, to deal with the local problems. Consideration of such measures is beyond the scope of this paper but we do wish to call attention to the need for further study and action in this field.

Steps to improve the mobility of labor illustrate one approach to this problem. In this connection the existing system of state and federal employment exchanges needs to be reexamined.

Even during the postwar boom some communities have been wrestling with a serious local unemployment problem. In some cases, voluntary cooperation of government, business, labor and civic groups has been highly effective in bringing new industries into the community and increasing local employment. Other communities have much to learn from these successful projects.

Of course it is better to foresee and forestall local unemployment problems than to wait until they become acute before trying to correct them. Communities should appraise their economic future in a systematic way, estimating the probable employment opportunities and the probable local labor force. Sometimes this will indicate a decline in certain industries. In other cases there may be insufficient growth in prospect for the expanding labor force. Discovering the facts will lay the basis for preventive action.

Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment compensation is not only a major assistance to unemployed workers but is also one of the most effective devices that can be built into the economy to make it more stable. The present unemployment compensation system could be strengthened in the three chief features that determine its effectiveness as a stabilizer—benefit rates, duration of benefits and coverage—without seriously adverse incentive effects.

The ratio of average weekly benefits to average weekly wages in covered employment has declined since 1939. The amount of weekly benefit received by an unemployed worker is higher the higher was his weekly wage, but subject to a dollar-and-cents limit on the weekly benefit. Since 1940 these top limits have risen only about half as much as weekly wages. As a result, the pro-

portion of benefits limited by the maximum dollar-and-cents rate has greatly increased. Increasing the maximum benefit would increase the effectiveness of the system as a stabilizer of incomes.

While benefit amounts have deteriorated relative to earnings since before the war, benefit durations have improved. In 1940 there were only six states in which an unemployed worker could receive benefits for as long as twenty weeks; in 1952 there were only six states in which a worker could *not* receive twenty or more weeks of benefits, and nineteen states paid twenty-six weeks of benefits. Although the present benefit periods appear to be generally adequate for normal between-jobs unemployment and for moderate recessions, it would be desirable for the remaining states to lengthen theirs toward the benefit periods now provided by the leading states.

Unemployment Coverage

The unemployment compensation system now covers about 70 per cent of all wage and salary workers. The 30 per cent not covered includes government employees, farm hands, domestic servants, employees of nonprofit organizations and employees of small firms.

For many of these categories, coverage under unemployment compensation would involve serious administrative difficulties. Some steps could be taken, however, toward increasing coverage. For example, the federal act which stimulated the establishment of state unemployment compensation systems applied to employers of eight or more persons. Twenty-nine states have now gone beyond this and applied their systems to smaller firms and some states have no exemption based on size of firm. The experience of these states should be reviewed to see whether it may not be feasible to reduce the size-exclusion from eight to some smaller number in other states.

In total the reserves of the unemployment compensation system seem large—equal in mid-1952 to 8 per cent of annual taxable wages. For the United States as a whole, 44 per cent of covered workers could be paid all benefits due them. But in some important industrial states the reserves are quite low. If, as we suggest above, the benefit rates are increased, the margin of safety of the state funds may be reduced. In some cases unjustified drains upon the funds could be reduced by better administration and by reconsideration of eligibility rules. These benefits are, of course, paid for non-production. Every inducement should be made for the individual to seek work. Conserving the funds in these ways will offset, at least in part, the increased costs resulting from higher benefits and longer benefit periods.

Some states may find it desirable to strengthen the financial status of their funds by raising the average levels of contribution rates. In addition provision should be made for federal loans to states that are in danger of exhausting their reserves.

* * *

The determination to prevent depression is a national determination shared by all sectors of the com-

munity. The responsibility is also shared by all.

What State and Local Governments Can Do:

1. State and local governments should assess the needs for constructive, possibly revenue-producing, expenditures within their jurisdictions and should examine possible ways, including local authorities, for meeting these needs to a larger extent.

2. State and local governments should include in their annual budgets appropriate sums which are reserved for future capital improvements.

3. Many local governments operate under obsolete debt limits which would be severe obstacles to the continuity of their operations through a recession. These debt limits should be revised.

4. More jurisdictions should develop capital budgets of projects to be initiated over the next several years, a substantial part of which should be advanced to the blueprint stage. This will help maintain the volume of state and local construction, despite economic fluctuations, and would permit an increase of such construction if necessary as part of a national program in which the federal government would take the lead.

5. State governments should explore the possibility of reducing the obstacles that smaller subdivisions experience in raising funds in the national capital markets. This might be done by centralized marketing arrangements.

6. The maximum weekly amount of unemployment benefit should be raised in many states. The maximum duration of benefits should also be raised in many states toward the standards already reached in the leading states. Administration should be improved and eligibility rules reconsidered to reduce unjustified benefit payments. States that have not already done so should consider the possibility of extending unemployment compensation to workers in firms with less than eight employees.

What Local and Regional Community Organizations Can Do:

Voluntary organizations at the local level, including businessmen, local government officials and other civic leaders, can do much to stimulate constructive action by all sectors of the community. Getting the vigorous and able people in a community together generates ideas and action. In fact, all of the things we have mentioned above as desirable are more likely to get done if there is a local face-to-face group devoted to their promotion.

Where special local unemployment problems exist, voluntary groups can be effective in encouraging the development of new industries. And local groups can forestall the emergence of such problems by surveying their community's economic prospects and taking corrective action if a future deficiency of employment opportunities is revealed.

A number of such groups already exist. During the past six years, for example, the CED has had a part

in encouraging the formation and maintenance in various parts of the country of more than twenty college-community research centers. Businessmen and college professors work together on local and regional problems of current and long-range interest. Nine of these centers are currently working on problems relevant to the present report. Studies of this character are a constructive supplement to research conducted by national organizations.

What the Federal Government Can Do:

. . . . . .

6. The federal government should establish a fund for loans to state unemployment compensation funds that may be in danger of exhaustion.

7. The federal government should collect additional data on the economic situation and outlook and make the data available more promptly.

. . . . . .

11. The federal government should offer loans to state and local governments for planning construction.

12. The federal government should prepare in advance, for institution when needed, a program of credit support to state and local governments for construction.

* * *

We need confidence that the American economy will be much more stable than it has been in the past. Without such confidence, the maintenance of reasonable stability over any long period will be difficult. And, even if we succeed, the continuing thought that we will fail itself has serious consequences. It is not healthful to have the friendly part of the world awaiting the next U. S. depression with fear while the hostile part looks forward to it as the event that will turn the tide of history in its direction.

We face a challenge. Despite its many brilliant achievements, the future of our competitive enterprise system will not be secure unless we can avoid the devastating effects of boom and bust.

We face that challenge with confidence. Our economy can achieve its high potential without violent fluctuations. We base our confidence upon many facts—such as strengthening of our financial and economic structure, the longer-term perspective of business planning, the stabilizing influence of unemployment compensation and income taxation, the other powerful instruments now available and the improved understanding of their use. And, most important of all, we base our confidence upon the determination of the American people to meet the challenge.

(Official recognition by the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report of one phase of the problem discussed by CED in this article appears on page 336.)

Public Works Planning

PUBLIC works is another field in which the combined efforts of the federal, state and local governments can clearly make a contribution to regularizing employment. A growing population and rising standards of living bring with them untold requirements for new public facilities of which highways, schools, hospitals and municipal facilities are only the more obvious examples. Programs for meeting these requirements can, in some measure, be accelerated in times of rising unemployment to overcome existing backlogs and, indeed, to take some forward-looking steps in advance of immediate pressing community needs. It is well, however, to keep public works in proper perspective lest they be overrated as a ready tool quite capable of alone solving the problem of unemployment.

While it is sincerely to be hoped that at no time in the foreseeable future will the maintenance of full employment in this country be abnormally dependent upon increased public works expenditures, we are somewhat disturbed by some of the facts brought out in the President's Economic Report and in testimony before the committee. The report points out that, if it should become necessary, outlays for federal public works could be stepped up within a year by, say, two billion dollars, or one-half of federal expenditures on that account in 1953, and that similarly, if financial arrangements were adequate, state and local outlays might be expanded by another three and a half billion dollars. Expenditures in these amounts would, without question, be helpful if we should suddenly find ourselves in a seriously declining economy, but the attainment of even these moderate aggregates would be dependent upon the prompt action of the Congress and other authorizing bodies. The committee finds little confirmation for the hope that federal public works might be speeded up administratively alone in any important way.

Local communities will undoubtedly use their resources to the utmost when threatened with local unemployment, yet the fact is that most of them are bound by tax, debt or user-charge limitations. If public works are to make an important contribution in solving unemployment in a serious recession, it seems clear that the federal government's credit must be substantially relied upon. Whether this should take the pattern of loans or grants-in-aid is a problem which need not now be settled, although all will agree that reliance on federal credit must not be allowed to become a basis for encroachment upon the traditional rights of local and state communities. . . .

As an aid to getting the most possible out of public works as a device with which to counter recessions, the committee recommends proposals which would facilitate the immediate planning and coordination, through an administrator directly responsible to the president, of all federal public works and community development with the cooperation of the federal, state and local governments.

—From *Joint Economic Report* of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 1256.

We're All in the Same Boat

Project East River calls for strong action at all levels of government for defense of nation's metropolitan areas.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is taken from the *General Report,* Part I of the ten-volume *Report of Project East River,* published under Signal Corps contract by Associated Universities, New York City. Since only 1,500 copies were published, the report is no longer available. Partly because of this, the REVIEW is reproducing here certain sections which it is believed will be of particular interest to readers.

THE great strength of the American system of federalism lies in its capacity to reconcile national needs and central authority with diversity of local needs and conditions and demands for local initiative and autonomy. In the case of civil defense, the reconciliation of national and local needs and the coordination of national and local resources must rest upon a predetermined allocation of responsibilities and the agreed-upon definition of operating authority.

The problem of civil defense necessarily involves all levels of government. The national interest is obvious: an enemy attack upon a critical industrial city is an attack upon the entire nation—in addition to humanitarian considerations, the entire nation would be affected, particularly if that city were producing some vital war material. In the United States, transportation and communications systems are organized on a national basis, so are many of the great manufacturing industries. Yet attacks would be localized in their first impact and initial operational responsibility in the event of an attack would necessarily rest with the locality (with the personnel and other resources immediately available).

The actual direction of disaster operations under emergency conditions is the responsibility of the local governments. The major elements of manpower and facilities are concentrated there and the final implementation of complete emergency plans takes place at the local level. Thus, operational organization for civil defense is the first priority job of local government. Except for reliance upon the general principle that this organization should be developed from extensions of normal governmental activities, adjusted according to technical information provided from federal and state sources, no attempt to blueprint a uniformly applicable organizational pattern should be made although this should not preclude sensible standardization.

In peacetime local governments should receive technical and financial assistance and benefit from national informational and educational programs undertaken at both the state and federal level. The national programs must set the stage for intelligent local planning and action but can never provide the essentials in manpower and organization, which remain a local function.

In an emergency, when a situation is beyond the capacity of local government (city or county), then the state should be expected to provide assistance, coordination and

direction. And, when a situation is beyond the capacity of state government, then the federal government should be expected to provide assistance, coordination and such supervisory direction as the situation dictates. This is, of course, a somewhat oversimplified concept. A more realistic view would consider a critical target as the center of a set of concentric circles covering the bulk of potential mutual aid and mobile support.

Calls for Assistance

Depending upon the intensity of the attack, calls for assistance and support would reach the inner ring of circles first and then move outward. Obviously, the implementation of this concept requires some adjustments to state and municipal jurisdictional lines. Such adjustments can be made in two ways: (1) through interstate and intermunicipal mutual aid compacts; and (2) by provision for federal coordination of support across state lines during a critical emergency. These devices can be made compatible and supplementary and are discussed below. As a general proposition, however, only essential responsibilities should be assumed by higher echelons of government; at the earliest possible moment the prerogatives of state and local governments should be restored.

The present basic civil defense organization places primary operating responsibility on state and local governments and puts the states in a position of authority that may exceed their capacity to act. The national and regional offices of the Federal Civil Defense Administration deal only with the governors and state civil defense directors. This procedure applies even with respect to the federal responsibility of assisting in the provision of basic equipment, which was a main purpose of the civil defense law. The states are in a dominant role and can either provide or deny aid to critical target municipalities.

Another feature of the present organization is an emphasis upon interstate and intermunicipal mutual-aid compacts. Such agreements are of value in that they provide for an orderly process in time of disaster when a situation does not require a governor to proclaim a state of extreme emergency. It must be recognized, however, that mutual-aid pacts are not the complete solution to mutual assistance. Their weakness lies in a situation where, because of real or anticipated local needs, a city or state would be reluctant to provide assistance even though an agreement exists. The agreements have no mandatory provisions, they contain no penalty clauses, and there is little recognition of the role that the federal government might have to play in a critical emergency. In the event of a severe enemy attack, they would be inadequate.

Other considerations—such as the national character of the transportation system, the nature of metropolitan areas that cross state lines and the need for effective control of mobile federal resources—point

up the need for realistic planning for greater federal support responsibilities in a major emergency.

Civil defense is a part of national defense; it would hardly be in keeping with the war powers of the national government for federal agencies to sit idly by if some state and local governments were unable to cope with an emergency situation. It is also inconsistent for all parties concerned to make one set of plans based on the predominant authority of the states while the same parties adhere to the unspoken premise that "when the real thing comes the federal government (meaning the military) will have to take over." In fact, in the most extreme situation, if a military theater of operations were declared, the establishment of military control over civil affairs could best be effected through the permanent machinery of federal, state and local civil defense organizations rather than through separate machinery and disaster plans developed by the military.

Planning for federal-state-local action should also recognize that, although formal mechanisms may be desirable over the long term, in a critical emergency the dictates of the situation will prevail, formal channels of communication and command may be short-circuited, and a great deal of responsibility will rest upon the man on the scene. Thus, a realistic middle-ground position would provide for the greatest possible exercise of local initiative, backed up with potential federal civilian direction and control if and when necessary. It would seem desirable, for example, that the federal regional director of civil defense play a significant part in the development of interstate mutual-aid compacts, so that he could render a service in the determination of priorities and in the provision for federal support when state lines have to be crossed. In the civil defense function, full emphasis should be placed upon the elements of cooperation in the federal system; federal, state and local governments are partners in an enterprise of mutual benefit to all. Realistic planning will be based on the principle of teamwork.

Recommendations of PER

Project East River, therefore recommends that:

(1) The federal civil defense regional director should be prepared to provide additional support when the situation is beyond the capacity of state and local governments;

(2) The placing of unreasonable burdens upon state governments be avoided;

(3) The officials of fifteen top priority urban target areas be permitted to consult and plan with both federal, regional and state civil defense officials.

If implemented fully, these recommendations would go far toward achieving an effective civil defense program, particularly in terms of permitting peacetime planning that would recognize both the practical limitations and the inherent advantages of all three levels of government. Although primary operational responsibilities would still remain with state and local governments,

such planning would tend to ensure a far more orderly and expeditious movement of mobile support forces across state lines to priority target areas. Certainly, in view of the analysis presented in Part III [of the report of Project East River], *The Destructive Threat of Atomic Weapons,* more immediate emphasis is needed on mobile support to cope with the problem where it is most difficult and where appropriate measures will bring the greatest return.

Critical Metropolitan Targets

The foregoing discussion can be focussed most sharply upon the metropolitan area problem, which is peculiarly difficult of solution. Even a metropolitan area completely contained within a single state presents a host of challenging problems. The use of traditional municipal corporate and/or county lines creates extraordinary complications when normal governmental functions are involved. The observance of the same boundaries creates even greater difficulties when an effort is made to develop an integrated operational plan for civil defense of a metropolitan area.

The treatment of metropolitan areas in the civil defense structure has thus far reflected the following difficulties:

(1) The traditional complexity of the metropolitan problem, including lack of a single political leadership over the entire area;

(2) The additional problems created when state boundary lines are involved;

(3) The current practice of treating all critical targets on a non-priority basis (virtually regardless of size, density of population, location, the critical nature of war industry involved, etc.);

(4) The tendency to place an unreasonable burden upon the states in a situation that might call for extensive interstate movements of supporting forces;

(5) The tendency of the states to follow jurisdictional, legalistic lines of authority and also municipal and county boundary lines; and

(6) The restrictions that prevent the federal government from dealing directly with the civil defense officials of the major cities.

The problem is well illustrated by the actual case of a large mid-western city (undoubtedly one of the first priority targets in the nation):

City X has recruited 25,000 wardens. Its officials have recruited and trained in their own facilities 7,000 police volunteers and 3,000 fire volunteers. They have requisitioned $1,000,000 worth of training equipment and organizational supplies; half of it on June 13 and December 12, 1951; have encumbered their share of the funds; but have received not one single delivery.

Two air-raid sirens have been mounted but they have been received only because the city asked the X Corporation, from which they expect to obtain their sirens, to make an advance delivery. Both the city and X Corporation hope that state and federal red tape gets cut so that the payment can be made and the warning system completed.

The warden and welfare training

manuals are all that have been received in spite of the fact that many more have been issued. Reprints have been at the city's expense. City officials have devised their own fire and police training manuals.

Administrative bulletins have been issued serially. At the time when a bulletin between No. 85 and No. 90 was the last numbered release received by the city, reference in a news release to No. 103 was noted. Upon checking with state officials, it was discovered that No. 110 was out.

Identification cards were recognized as being necessary to permit some essential movement by key personnel. After fruitless attempts to obtain state issuance, the city printed up its own. A few weeks later the state came out with a different identification card and made those devised and issued by the city useless.

Regional officials of the Federal Civil Defense Administration feel that they cannot talk with civil defense officials of City X unless the state suggests it or is present. The state office has expressed a desire to be completely cooperative and helpful, has expressed much interest in the problems of the city, but nothing has happened.

For fiscal 1952, the state had available $1,973,000, which provided some matching money and a staff of 71. In spite of this staff and a desire to be helpful, a requisition for $108,500 worth of fire equipment (boots, coats, helmets and hose), sent to the state capital in January 1952, did not get transmitted to the regional office until April 28. For fiscal 1953, the legislature appropriated $271,000, which will carry a staff of seventeen. City X's 1952 budget provided $1,500,000 and contemplates continuance of the present staff of 42 paid persons for fiscal year 1953 although the budget for 1953 is only $779,000.

Thus City X is faced with a problem. Should it continue its efforts in the hope that something will happen that will make it possible for equipment—for which it has its share of the money on the line—to be delivered and make possible the continuance of training, exercises and drills? Or should it throw in the sponge, apologize to the volunteers who have been inconvenienced and trust to luck that there won't be any need for use of civil defense forces?

Bridging the Gap

In this atomic era some organizational means must be found to bridge the gap between the federal level and the level of the more critical target areas without impinging on the "sovereignty" of the state or the dignity of its governor. The controversial history of this problem is recognized and there may be some merit in doing informally that which would create additional difficulties if instituted formally. The danger is that the problem of metropolitan areas can never be handled on an informal basis. It is preferable, in our opinion, to face up to the problem by attempting a formal rather than an informal arrangement.

Let it be emphasized that this does not mean any diminution of the status of the state or its predominant place in the organizational hierarchy. The situation is analogous to that present in many business organizations where a new activity or one that is encountering special difficulty is dealt with directly by the head of the business even

though this appears to be in direct violation of the organizational chart. It is not unusual in complex organizational structures to find both a major and minor basis governing organizational relationships. Thus, the issue of geographical versus the functional basis of organization is often resolved so that both play a role where circumstances dictate.

Project East River believes that, in view of the threat and in view of the complexity of the problem, organizational means should be devised to permit a more direct handling of the critical metropolitan areas. In spite of the controversial background, it is believed that this can be done without materially changing the dominant, organizational emphasis, which is properly on the existing federal-state basis. Project East River recommends that affirmative action be taken by all levels of government to facilitate the buildup of the civil defense of our major metropolitan areas.

Project East River specifically recommends:

(1) The establishment in the Federal Civil Defense Administration of an office or division of urban defense.

(2) Action by the states to facilitate federal-state metropolitan planning for logistics and operations.

Such federal and state action, it is believed, would represent a realistic recognition of the special problems created by our major metropolitan areas. It would greatly facilitate the solution of the situations typified by City X. It would eliminate the unworkable situation typified in one state by the placing of three urban communities (contiguous cities really forming one natural community) in three separate disaster regions that cannot be coordinated save at the remote state capital. Finally, such action would also facilitate realistic planning that would permit the states to act within the limits of their capacity and would not thrust unreasonable burdens upon them.

Illinois Faces Redistricting

People will have chance in November to end half-century old gross inequalities in representation in legislature.

By RUSSELL E. OLSON*

ILLINOIS voters will have an opportunity at the fall election to pass on a constitutional amendment calling for a much needed reapportionment of districts for the election of members of both houses of the legislature.

Despite a constitutional mandate to reapportion every ten years, Illinois legislative districts have not been changed since 1901. Illinois courts have held consistently that the meaning of the constitution is clear—the legislative branch is required to reapportion every decade —but the court has just as regularly said it has no power to force an equal and coordinate branch of the government to act. As a result, the situation is at a critical stage.

Cook County is grossly underrepresented and within the county itself there are great inequalities in the size of districts. The suburban sixth district contains 700,325 persons and receives the same representation as the heart of the west side bloc, the seventeenth district, with 39,368.

Perhaps even more serious is the fact that this city district sends Roland Libonati to the Senate. At the time of this writing Senator Libonati was being sued by Chicago for non-repair of his West Side slum holdings. In addition to Libonati, the seventeenth sends Representatives Euzzino, De Tolve and Granata to the House. All are members of the west side bloc, the worst element in the legislature, according to Chicago newspapers and other legislators. This district and the fifteenth, twenty-seventh, first and twenty-ninth, constitute the state's five smallest, with a combined population of 256,000.

Such was the situation facing the newly inaugurated governor and legislature in 1953. Governor Stratton had asked for a redistricting in his inaugural address and numerous proposals were introduced.

Most of the proposals for change were resolutions calling for change in the constitution. Fifteen unsuccessful resolutions were introduced in the 1953 session, the majority calling for a redistricting which would leave Cook County slightly less than a majority in one or both houses.

The successful reapportionment bill was Senate Joint Resolution No. 32, which calls for a referendum on amending sections 6, 7 and 8 of article IV of the constitution. It had the necessary support throughout. Governor Stratton and his administrative assistants took an active part in the drafting. It was introduced on May 27, as HJR 61, by an impressive lineup of sponsors, including the majority leader, majority whip, and chairmen of the

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major standing committees. On June 3, the Committee on Elections and Reapportionment recommended the resolution be adopted and it was laid on the speaker's table.

At the same time, Senate Joint Resolution No. 32, an identical measure, was introduced in the Senate by the president pro tempore and majority leader, assistant majority leader, and chairmen of Senate committees. One week later the Executive Committee reported the bill favorably.

Upon unanimous consent, the Senate set a special order of business on the resolution for June 16. At that time the majority leader offered two minor amendments which were adopted and the resolution was quickly passed 43-2.

Reasons for Opposition

The two negative votes were cast by Senators Wimbash and Collins, a Chicago Democrat and a downstate Republican. Senator Wimbash, a Negro, is believed to have felt that any redistricting would be gerrymandered to deprive his people of a just representation. Senator Collins was the only member of the majority party to go against the governor in the Senate vote. (His vote, however, had been promised the governor if it was absolutely needed to pass the measure.)

Senator Collins believes that his constituents, in the rural area surrounding DeKalb, are against the amendment. He feels it gives Cook County control over initiation of appropriations and would concentrate too much power in one place. He argued that downstate political machines were on a county basis and amounted to 101 machines or political organizations, each independent of the others. With so many groups, many with divergent views, it would be virtually impossible to keep them together in one legislative bloc. In Cook County, however, Senator Collins felt that the situation is different, with tremendous patronage power in the hands of the sheriff, judges, Chicago's mayor and the like. A powerful political organization is easily built in such an area and could control the votes of its legislators.

The senator also answered the point of view that legislators should vote in favor of a referendum and let the people decide the wisdom of the proposal. He voted against the referendum because he felt it could benefit only one group of people—those from Cook County.

The House measure, in the meantime, had been tied up in committee, and Senate Joint Resolution 32 reached the House on June 16. Made a special order of business, the bill met its first real opposition the next day. The Democrats caucused prior to the session but reached no conclusion. However, Democratic Floor Leader Paul Powell, of Vienna, protested vigorously, objecting to the rushing of the bill, claiming it had not been discussed thoroughly with the minority. He also spoke against the idea of allowing Cook County to control one house of the legislature. "We downstaters know that the Cook County boys are good traders on legislation.

They practice a different brand of politics than we do downstate."

Majority Whip Lewis retaliated, speaking in favor of the amendment and telling downstaters that although they would lose nine representatives, they would gain two senators; a far better bill for them than any previous proposal.

The resulting vote was 92-29, 10 short of the necessary 102. Twenty-eight members did not vote. The non-voters, mostly Democrats, included virtually the entire West Side Bloc. Representative Sprague, acting as floor manager for the administration, secured a motion to postpone further consideration.

Governor Takes Action

Then Governor Stratton went into action. Some items in the governor's program had rolled along and others had been held back but on June 17, with reapportionment facing defeat, he decided it was time to trade. The governor threw his administrative assistants William Downey and Joseph Carey into a twenty-four hour drive for votes. He also received help from Auditor Orville Hodge.

Votes and favors were apparently traded at a late session in the Executive Mansion. One legislator was promised a long desired bridge over "Apple Creek," another got route so-and-so resurfaced, etc. It was also reported that the governor had relieved some members from obligation to vote for other legislation in order to get support for reapportionment.

The *Chicago Tribune*, on June 19, quoted the governor as saying, "Pass reapportionment and pledges on other matters will not be considered as ironclad." Even the Democrats were told that support for reapportionment would ease pressure on bills objectionable to them. It is apparent that downstate went along on reapportionment only because of gubernatorial pressure.

Speaker of the House Warren Wood also felt the pressure of the governor. He had been vehemently opposed to reapportionment but on the day of the final vote he took the floor for the first time in the session and spoke in favor of the amendment. "Let us take this action to give concrete proof that our form of representative government in the end does solve all problems, and throw the lie in the teeth of those who would detract from it."

The reasons for Governor Stratton making reapportionment the keystone of his legislative arch has been a point of conjecture. The most logical is that the governor had a two-fold purpose. First, he believed that Illinois was badly in need of reapportionment and it was the just thing to do; secondly, it was probably the right thing to do politically.

Governor Stratton needs more support in Cook County and success in his endeavor to secure reapportionment should win him additional support in the county that stands to benefit most by redistricting. Republicans on a statewide ticket must get strong support in suburban Cook County to offset the usually heavy Democratic majorities piled up in Chicago. After

Stratton's nomination the ranks did not close behind him as satisfactorily as he may have desired. It may have been to get this suburban support that the governor fought so for reapportionment. Passage could also give him some inroads in traditionally Democratic Chicago. The downstaters had no place else to turn (the governor handles all patronage personally) and had to follow the governor's lead. This also explains why the legislative battle wasn't stronger.

Other political factors may have also determined the governor's stand. It has been said repeatedly that he is seeking nationwide attention. His support for reapportionment has also been classified as an effort to build up popularity for the next gubernatorial election.

Regardless of future intentions, the governor did give the resolution his utmost in the legislature. His drive for votes began on June 17, when the resolution fell 10 votes short of the necessary 102. On a vote taken the next day the measure passed easily 120-17. It had been a do-or-die situation and Governor Stratton did not die.

Let the People Decide

Although 120 favorable votes were cast, that should not be interpreted as meaning that 120 House members favor the proposed reapportionment. Some, such as Representative Stengel of Rock Island, had been opposed but voted "yes" to give the people a chance to decide the issue. He, for one, thought the people would not approve the measure. Others, too, voted favorably so that the people could decide. Of this number, some will actually campaign against it. Noble Lee of Chicago is one. He feels that cities are more spendthrift by nature and should not control the treasury.

The proposed amendment will be submitted at the general election on November 2, 1954, and shall be effective upon adoption. However, the General Assembly meeting in 1955 shall consist of the legislators elected under the present constitutional provisions.

The schedule provides for the replacement of senators to provide a full quota of members by 1957-1958. It also provides that senators eliminated from their offices by redistricting, and not re-elected, shall receive all salary and benefits as would have accrued if they had served through the 1957-1958 term.

Since the passage of a "Gateway" amendment in 1950,[1] it has been much easier to pass an amendment than previously. It makes it possible for proposed amendments to be ratified either by a favorable two-thirds majority of the votes on the amendment itself or, as in the past, by a majority of all votes cast in the election, whichever is smaller. The reapportionment amendment will be voted under this system.

The proposal, if approved by the people, will give Cook County a slim margin in the House and downstate a substantial majority in the Senate. It follows the same general pattern as that of Congress, where

[1]See "Chicago Votes the Blue Ballot," the REVIEW, February 1951, page 88.

representatives are elected on a basis of population and two senators are chosen from each state regardless of population.

In the lower house, Cook County will be given thirty representative districts, while the remaining 101 counties will receive twenty-nine. With three representatives to be chosen from each district, Cook County will have a 90-87 majority in the House. This does not mean that either the Democrats or Chicagoans will control the lower chamber since the amendment stipulates that Chicago is to receive twenty-three and suburban Cook County seven districts. This suburban area has been predominantly Republican and, on issues concerning Chicago, usually votes with downstate.

By combining these suburban districts with those of downstate, Chicago representatives will be outnumbered 108-69. That would provide a substantial margin if any conflicts arise. If downstate citizens make this differentiation between the two Cook County areas, their opposition to redistricting should be somewhat diminished.

At present 35 per cent of the House members are elected in Chicago. This will rise 4 per cent to a total of 39 per cent in a future apportionment. However, Chicago's Senate representation will drop from 35 per cent to 31 per cent, leaving the city a net gain of absolutely nothing except more seats in a larger legislature. This very significant fact is being exploited in the present downstate campaign on behalf of the amendment.

Under the proposal the House will be elected on a basis of population with no limit placed on the number of districts in any one county. Chicago, suburban Cook County and downstate are created as three permanent divisions of representation. Any future redistricting must be on the basis of population the three divisions bear to the total population of the state. The new districts will contain, as nearly as practicable, a population equal to the representative ratio. Districts must be bounded by county lines unless the population entitles it to more than one district. In any redistricting that follows county lines districts will not be equal in size. The only restriction is that no district shall contain less than four-fifths of the representative ratio.

Schedule for Apportioning

Future reapportionments will be carried out in 1955, 1963, and every ten years thereafter. The amendment provides that redistricting will be carried out by an alternate method if the legislature fails to reapportion by July 1 of each year designated. The Illinois Legislative Council described various means by which this could be done in a study for the legislature.[2] Missouri's example, one of those mentioned, apparently caught the fancy of Illinois legislators because the proposed alternate method for redistricting shows a striking resemblance to it.

If the legislature does not act by July 1 of a year in which redistrict-

[2] *Legislative Reapportionment in Illinois*, Illinois Legislative Council, December 1952, page 11.

ing should take place, a commission is to reapportion the state. Within thirty days after July 1, the state central committees of the two leading parties in the last gubernatorial election are to submit lists of ten persons to the governor. Within thirty days thereafter, the governor must name a commission of ten, chosen in equal numbers from each list. The governor is to name five persons of his choice from a party not submitting such a list within the required period. Each member will receive $25 a day up to a maximum of $2,000.

The commission will then redistrict the state's representative districts as outlined in the constitution and file a statement, approved by seven of the ten commissioners, of the numbers of districts and their boundaries with the secretary of state. Future elections will then be carried out in accordance with the statement of the commission.

If this group does not file a statement within four months after its appointment, it shall be discharged and all legislators are to be chosen from the state at large in the next election. This, of course, puts teeth into the law, since neither party would stand for the expense and uncertainty of at-large elections for every legislator. If this did happen, however, the same procedure would be carried out in the next legislature. A new commission would be chosen if the General Assembly again failed to act etc. This would be repeated session after session until reapportionment is an actuality.

The amendment is written in such a way that the governor must carry out his duty also. A writ of mandamus compelling him to act can be issued by the courts. Thus, virtually all loopholes to avoid reapportionment have been blocked quite effectively.

In the Senate, the reapportionment picture is quite different. The amendment calls for permanent districts formed of contiguous and compact territory. There is no provision for ever again redistricting senatorial districts after 1955. Of the proposed fifty-eight districts, eighteen will be in Chicago, six in suburban Cook County and thirty-four downstate. Downstate, then, will be given a permanent ten-seat majority in the Senate and its present quota of thirty-two will be increased by two. This permanency is a concession to downstate which had to get some benefit from the legislation.

Senate Based on Area

Senatorial districts shall be formed with area as the "prime" consideration. Representative Sprague, sponsor of the amendment who pushed it through the House, stated that area will be the prime consideration in actuality and that it is planned to follow it, if possible, by dividing the number of square miles in the state by the number of districts and apportioning without regard to population. This suggests that the plan calls for dividing the number of square miles downstate by thirty-four to provide a ratio of 1,63 square miles for each downstate district. A Senate quotient for Chica

(Continued on page 363)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Nebraska to Vote on Constitutional Changes

Legislature Submits Eight; Petitions May Add Others

THE Nebraska legislature in its 1953 regular session submitted three proposed constitutional amendments to popular vote on November 2, 1954, out of sixteen placed before it. In a special session in April 1954, called to consider amendments as to revenue and taxation, it approved five out of nine for submission at the same time. Approval of each of the eight amendments required a three-fifths vote of the unicameral legislature. The final adoption of an amendment by referendum calls for affirmative votes representing a majority of all votes cast on the proposal and at least 35 per cent of the total votes cast at the election.

The eight proposed amendments are summarized and explained in a May 1954 bulletin of the Nebraska Legislative Council. Their brief descriptions and a few comments follow, the three proposals of the regular session being given first:

1. To substitute for the present *ex officio* Board of Educational Lands and Funds a board of five members to be appointed by the governor, the qualifications, terms and compensation of the members of the new board to be fixed by the legislature.

The present board administers 1,635,000 acres of land and over $14,000,000 of invested funds held in trust by the state for public schools. It is made up of the governor and four other elected or appointed state officers, all but one of whom (the commissioner of education) are also *ex officio* members of other boards.

2. To authorize the legislature to fix the salaries of executive officers without the present restriction that such salaries may not be changed more than once in any eight-year period.

The present restriction makes it impossible either to increase or decrease the salary of such an executive officer at less than eight-year intervals, even in the event of rapid inflation or deflation. The bulletin mentions the case of the director of banking, whose salary was set at $5,500 in 1947; in 1951 the legislature authorized an increase to $6,500 which could not, however, become effective until 1955, after which it could not again be changed until 1963.

3. To remove members of certain types of boards and commissions from the present constitutional requirement that all executive officers shall reside at the seat of the state government.

At present the constitution requires that all executive officers, except the lieutenant governor, shall reside at the seat of government during their terms of office; and this includes members of any board or commission that constitutes the head of an executive department. The proposed amendment excludes the members of such boards or commissions. The bulletin cites the case of the State Board of Health, established in 1953 as head of the Department of Health. The seven-man board appoints a director, who administers the functions of the department, while the board meets quarterly and at special times to adopt rules and determine policies. A member is paid $20 for each day he is engaged in the board's business. Thus no one but residents of Lincoln, the state capital, could afford to serve on the board.

4. To authorize the legislature to

provide for the appointment of a tax commissioner or a tax commission which could have jurisdiction over the administration of the revenue laws of the state and power to review and equalize assessments of property for tax purposes.

The constitution now provides for appointment of a tax commissioner by the governor, with Senate approval, to administer the revenue laws of the state. Together with the governor, secretary of state, auditor and treasurer, he is a member of the State Board of Equalization. Under the amendment the tax commissioner would no longer be a constitutional officer nor the Board of Equalization a constitutional body; the legislature could make such arrangements as it desired, possibly placing one or both functions under a single appointive commission.

A committee of the Legislative Council has devoted a year's study to the problem of assessments, authorized by the legislature in 1953, in which year the legislature enacted a 50 per cent assessment law. The Board of Equalization materially revised assessments in most counties, following a direction from the Nebraska Supreme Court to equalize assessments among counties at full value.

5. To authorize the legislature to provide for the appointment of county assessors and boards of equalization and assessment for counties and other taxing districts.

At present all county officers are considered to be elective under the constitution.

6. To authorize the legislature to exempt household goods and personal effects from taxation in whole or in part as may be provided by general law.

The constitution at present exempts household goods to the extent of $200.

7. To authorize the legislature to prescribe standards and methods for the assessment and taxation of various classes and kinds of real and personal property, both tangible and intangible.

The present provision is that "taxes shall be levied by valuation uniformly and proportionately upon all tangible property and franchises," except for motor vehicles; and "taxes uniform as to class may be levied by valuation upon all other property." The amendment would give the legislature more leeway as to formulas of assessment, particularly as to farm property and merchandise.

8. To require that if a general sales tax or an income tax, or a combination of both is adopted by the legislature for state purposes the state shall be prohibited from levying a property tax for state purposes.

This would be a restriction on the legislature, whereas the other four amendments relating to revenues or taxation would enlarge its powers.

Petitions for Amendments

Besides the eight proposed amendments that the legislature has submitted, petitions for others have been circulated. One seeking to supersede the unicameral legislature by one of two chambers has evidently been abandoned in favor of one to enlarge it and to restore partisan elections for legislators.[1]

The Nebraska Bar Association and the League of Women Voters have been working together to obtain 60,000 signatures to petitions to place on the November ballot a proposed amendment instituting a variation of the Missouri plan for selection of judges. Instead of the present direct election of judges (on a nonpartisan basis) the governor would appoint a judge from a panel of three names submitted by specially selected committees. At the end of the term for which appointed, the judge

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1954, page 139.

would, if he desired, run for re-election on his record and not against another candidate; if he is defeated, the governor makes a new appointment. The plan would apply to the Supreme Court, district judges, county judges and municipal judges. The special committees would consist of three laymen (appointed by the governor) and three lawyers (chosen by the bar) from the district where a vacancy exists, except that for the Supreme Court the committee size is doubled. The Supreme Court in all cases would designate one of its members as committee chairman.

Arizona Hinders Annexations; Other New Legislation

Annexation programs of Arizona cities, particularly those of Phoenix and Tucson, received a setback as a consequence of two laws passed by the second regular session of the twenty-first Arizona legislature. Cities will not be permitted to compete with any privately-owned utility which is furnishing "adequate public utility service" in any area within or outside municipal boundaries, including newly annexed areas; instead, before extending their utility services, they must first acquire any portion of a private utility which is serving the area. Private water and garbage utilities supported the law as a means of circumventing the decision of the Arizona Supreme Court in 1953 which held that municipalities might compete with private utilities in newly annexed areas. At a rehearing early in 1954, the court ruled that the legislature might by law withdraw the privilege of competition.

Annexation petitions in the future must be signed by "the owners of not less than one-half in value of such real and personal property as would be subject to taxation by the city in the event of annexation. . . ." The old law required only owners of real property to sign. Because of the difficulty of arriving at the value of personal property in business and industrial areas, municipal officials anticipate that the new procedure will be difficult to operate and will lead to considerable litigation. Leaders of the recent session explained that the two houses had agreed to delete the personal property requirement but that it was inadvertently left in because of a mistake by an engrossing clerk.

The same law also requires that petitions submitted to property owners for signature must indicate the exterior boundaries of the area whose annexation is desired and must be accompanied by a map of the area. No additions in the area may be made but reductions are permissible. The Arizona Supreme Court had ruled in February 1954 that a complete description in the original petitions of the area to be annexed was not necessary.[1]

Cities and towns of Arizona may provide for the clearance and redevelopment of slums and blighted areas under provisions of another new law. Municipalities may create a slum clearance and redevelopment commission and may issue revenue bonds to finance projects. Redevelopment plans may be prepared by the municipality or submitted by "any person or agency, public or private . . . to a municipality."

Administration of state health activities was reorganized by a law which provides for the creation of a state department of health and the transfer to it of duties and responsibilities formerly performed by eight other agencies and officials. A commissioner appointed by a state board of health will serve as executive and administrative head of the new department. A five-member board of health, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1954, page 199.

Senate, will exercise advisory and rule-making powers. The legislature also enacted a new income tax law, with withholding provisions, and new insurance and banking codes.

In the area of administrative law, the legislature authorized the judicial review by Superior Courts (on the county level) of the final decisions of agencies. The law, however, does not apply to the decisions of agencies already subject to judicial review under other statutes. Any action to review a final decision must be initiated within 35 days from the date of service of notice of the decision. Court review shall extend to all questions of law and fact presented by the entire record of the case. New or additional evidence in support of or in opposition to the agency decision may not be heard by the court, except in the event of a trial *de novo* or in cases where, in the discretion of the court, justice demands the admission of such evidence.

A person may ask for a trial *de novo* if the administrative agency failed to hold a hearing or if the proceedings before the agency were not stenographically reported so that a transcript could be made. Appeals from the decision of the Superior Court may be taken to the State Supreme Court.

The recent session, which met for ninety days, was the longest in the history of the Arizona legislature. The length of the session is attributed in part to the fact that each house, in an attempt to coerce the other to take favorable action upon certain bills which it had originated, frequently delayed action on bills which had reached it from the other chamber.

Paul Kelso
University of Arizona

North Carolina to Vote on Constitutional Changes

At the November election the people of North Carolina will pass upon five proposed constitutional amendments. Their subject matter is summarized by the Winston-Salem League of Women Voters as follows:

1. Retirement of Supreme Court justices, and recall of retired justices to replace incapacitated ones;
2. To transfer parole power from the governor to the Board of Paroles; pardons, commuting of sentences and grants of reprieve to be left in the hands of the governor;
3. No county to have more than one senator;
4. To reduce requirement of length of residence in a voting precinct from four months to thirty days;
5. To give the governor certain powers to fill unexpired terms.

Louisiana Reapportionment Problem under Study

Both houses of the Louisiana legislature have voted in favor of the creation of a volunteer legislative study group to seek an acceptable plan of reapportionment of the state for legislative membership.

Although the present constitution, adopted in 1921, directs the legislature to reapportion after each federal census, the legislature has failed to do so. Three censuses have now occurred without a consequent reapportionment.

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana points out that there are now four senatorial districts with a total population of 507,261 and only four senators while three other districts with a total population of only 115,988 also have four senators.

In the lower house, whereas there are eleven parishes (counties) with a total population of only 121,780 and eleven representatives the parish of East Baton Rouge (containing the city of Baton Rouge) has 158,236 people but only two representatives; Caddo (containing Shreveport) has 176,547 people

and four representatives; and Jefferson (suburban to New Orleans) has 103,873 people and only one representative.

Four-Year Terms Furthered in Massachusetts

A joint constitutional convention of the Massachusetts House and Senate voted 183 to 69 on May 20 in favor of a proposed constitutional amendment to increase the terms of the governor and five other constitutional state officials from two years to four. The other five are the lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor and attorney general.

The amendment must be approved by the 1955-56 legislature and then by the voters on referendum. If it is finally successful the governor elected in 1958 would be the first to be affected.

Attempts to place various other proposed amendments on the agenda of the convention were unsuccessful. In the preliminary debate on the four-year amendment a proposal to have it apply to legislators and to members of the executive council was ruled out of order. An amendment to allow for a recall vote after two years, on petition of 20,000 voters, and one to place two-term limits on officials with four-year terms were defeated.

Massachusetts Holds Pre-primary Conventions

In June the political parties of Massachusetts, under a new law (Chapter 406, 1953), held pre-primary state conventions to endorse nominees for U. S. senator, governor and two of the state offices for submission to the party voters at primaries in the fall. Opposing nominees, if any, will have until September 14 to get their names on party ballots by petition. The Democratic convention had 1,700 delegates, balloted for twenty hours and adjourned after the second day until a week later, leaving to an adjourned session with a light attendance the task of designating a nominee for one remaining office, the state treasurer. The Republican convention, with 1,378 delegates, picked its slate without serious divisions, endorsing the incumbent governor and U. S. senator by acclamation.

The pre-primary convention device was tried in Massachusetts in 1934 and 1936 and abandoned although an informal one was held by the Republicans in 1952. The device differs from the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* in that a bulky short-lived convention writes the slate instead of the state central committee. So large a one-day assembly is susceptible to tight control, conceals the real sponsorship and diffuses responsibility for the slate. But like the *Model* it leaves time—in this case a long time—for opposition within the party to mobilize and file if the party managers behind the convention slate fail to cater deferentially to all factions, regions and elements, and, as in the *Model,* endorsees of the convention are identified as such on the primary ballots for the information of the voters, the label in this case being the words "Endorsed by ———— convention."

R. S. C.

Metropolitan Planning Agencies Form Organization

Representatives of eleven official and non-official metropolitan regional planning bodies met in Columbus, Ohio, on May 16 to consider a new Association of Metropolitan Regional Planning Organizations to represent the interests and activities of metropolitan regional planning throughout the United States. The meeting was held at the invitation of the American Planning and Civic Association in conjunction with that organization's annual planning conference. All present at the meeting voted to constitute themselves an organizing committee for an association, whose first formal meeting will be held

on September 26 in Philadelphia at the time of the National Planning Conference of the American Society of Planning Officials.

The purposes of the new association will be: (1) to act as a national clearing house in the field of metropolitan regional planning; (2) to sponsor and conduct periodic conferences for citizens and professionals in this field; (3) to initiate or coordinate research on problems of metropolitan areas and to make the findings available in suitable form to persons and agencies holding membership in the association; and (4) to assist in the creation of metropolitan regional bodies, both official and unofficial, in areas where there are now none and to help strengthen the programs of existing agencies.

Provisional officers of the organizing committee are: president, T. Ledyard Blakeman, director of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission; vice president, Henry Fagin, planning director of the Regional Plan Association of New York; and secretary, Barbara Terrett, Washington, D. C. Frederick Gutheim, a member of the National Capital Regional Planning Council, who called the meeting on behalf of some twenty organizations in metropolitan areas, will act as adviser to the association.

Membership on the organizing committee and its steering committee is open to representatives of other official and non-official metropolitan regional organizations and to interested citizens. The address of the president is 1002 Cadillac Square Building, Detroit 26.

HENRY FAGIN
Regional Plan Association
of New York

Milwaukee Reduces Number of Wards by 30 Per Cent

The city of Milwaukee has reduced the number of its wards from 27 to 19—a 30 per cent decrease. One alderman is elected by the voters of each ward. Eight fewer aldermen will be elected on April 6, 1956, than are presently serving in the city council.

Eighteen of the new city wards are combined census tracts. Each ward includes approximately one per cent of the population of the state in accordance with an amendment to the city charter enacted by the city council in 1950. There are 100 members of the state assembly, and one assemblyman for each one per cent of the population therefore results in equitable representation. The automatic re-warding of the city on this formula is designed to facilitate the reapportionment of Milwaukee's representation in the state's Assembly and Senate, and in the county board of supervisors which is based on assembly districts.

The nineteenth new ward is the former town of Lake, with an area of nine and one-half square miles and a population of 13,000, which was consolidated with the city of Milwaukee as a result of a favorable referendum vote in each municipality on April 6, 1954. This consolidation and recent annexations have increased Milwaukee's area from 48 square miles the first of 1950 to 66 square miles at present.

PAULA LYNAGH
Citizens' Governmental Research
Bureau of Milwaukee

Council-manager Plan Developments

At a special town meeting in IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, on May 24, it was voted 274 to 12 to present to the legislature for its approval a proposed new charter that would establish an executive secretary, with large administrative powers, under the board of selectmen. He would supervise all departments and activities, subject to the board, which would appoint him for a three-year

term on the basis of training and experience. He would appoint various boards and officials, including the clerk, treasurer, counsel, collector, fire chief and superintendent of public works, subject to the approval of the board.

A special bill to allow BROCKTON, MASSACHUSETTS, to vote on council-manager Plan D next year was killed in the House of Representatives. The validity of a petition for such an election, filed last year, is now a subject of litigation.

The charter commission of MARION, OHIO, has drafted a proposed council-manager charter. The council would have nine members, six elected by wards and three at large. With growth of the city the number of councilmen would increase.

In JOLIET, ILLINOIS, a group of citizens favoring adoption of the council-manager plan have organized as the Better Joliet Committee, Inc. It intends to campaign for a popular referendum on the question of adopting the plan.

Citizens of HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS, have formed an organization known as Highland Park Citizens for City Manager. It is working for a referendum in December of this year on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

The executive committee of the DECATUR, ILLINOIS, Association of Commerce has gone on record as favoring adoption of the council-manager plan by the city.

In MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, which now has the commission plan of government, a movement is on foot for change either to the council-manager plan or the strong mayor plan.

DE SOTO, MISSOURI, voted 1,016 to 841 on May 27 to retain the council-manager plan, which was adopted in 1948.

MARSHALL, MISSOURI, voted 1,506 to 1,293 on May 25 to abandon the manager plan, instituted six years ago. A mayor and eight councilmen will be elected in April 1955, and will take over the government of the city.

On June 3, LA JUNTA, COLORADO, voted more than three to one, 1,210 to 371, to retain the city's council-manager government.

The city commission of TULSA, OKLAHOMA, on June 2, directed Mayor L. C. Clark to call a special election for November 16 on the question of adopting a council-manager charter, drafted by the city's charter commission. A petition for the charter had been circulated in a drive headed by the League of Women Voters, and 21,863 signatures obtained.

In MINERAL WELLS, TEXAS, the charter commission has drafted a council-manager charter. It is expected to go to popular vote in August.

EL PASO, TEXAS, voted 6,369 to 2,997 on May 29 against a proposed council-manager plan.

Petitions for incorporation of MOUNTLAKE TERRACE, WASHINGTON, and calling for the council-manager plan, have been placed in circulation by the Mountlake Terrace Study Group.

In SAN CLEMENTE, CALIFORNIA, citizens voted overwhelmingly on April 13 in favor of hiring a city manager. The vote, which was advisory only, was 915 to 163.

Massachusetts and Connecticut managers met in Boston on May 20-21, with 18 of the 34 managers in the two states in attendance.

Five of the seven New Hampshire managers met in Concord on May 20.

Thirty-seven of the 50 North Carolina managers met in Greensboro on May 27-28.

The sixth annual conference of the Association of Municipal Managers of Pennsylvania was held at State College on May 14-15, with 31 of the 57 managers present.

Ten of the eighteen Vermont managers met in Randolph on May 19.

Thirty-nine of the 65 Virginia managers met in Natural Bridge on May 14-15.

In the 1953 national traffic safety contest, three council-manager cities won first place in their population groups: Phoenix, Arizona, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Garden City, Kansas.

In the national fire waste contest the grand award for the United States was given to Hartford, a council-manager city, as are population group winners Dayton, Ohio, and Norfolk, Virginia.

Council Can Appoint City's Administrative Assistant

The voters of Willmar, Minnesota, recently approved a charter revision plan, 658 to 150, which includes an effort toward administrative betterment. One amendment provides that an administrative assistant may be appointed to assist in the administrative functions of the municipal government—but by the city council rather than the mayor.

Another change authorizes the council to combine the offices of clerk and treasurer. The clerk, now elected, will hereafter be appointed. A planning commission of nine members is provided; it will also control zoning. Maximum annual pay for the mayor and each council member is increased—from $108 to $300.

Mauch Chunk, Pa., Merges Neighbor under New Name

The adjacent municipalities of Mauch Chunk and East Mauch Chunk, on the Lehigh River in Pennsylvania, voted 2,203 to 199 on May 18 to combine into a single municipality. It is to be called Jim Thorpe, after the famous Indian athlete, who first won renown at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.

Home Rule Bill Loses in Massachusetts

Although receiving a vote of 120 in favor to 102 against in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on May 19, a bill to limit the legislature's powers as to local legislation failed because a two-thirds affirmative vote was required. The Senate had voted 25 to 12 for the bill, which would have prevented legislative consideration of special bills for individual cities or towns without prior approval of the mayor and the city council or the selectmen.

Denver Seeks to Cure and Prevent Urban Blight

Organization and action to eliminate existing blight and prevent its recurrence have been urged upon Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver, Colorado, by his Housing Coordinating Committee, which has studied the problem pursuant to his request of July 22, 1953. Its leading recommendation was the establishment of a conservation-redevelopment board, with a director and clerical staff. This and other basic recommendations have been accepted by the mayor and the city council, and the conservation - redevelopment director is already appointed.

The Housing Coordinating Committee reported that, although Denver does not have widespread slum and blighted areas, they are developing and immediate steps should be taken to attack and control them. The conservation-redevelopment board is created to carry on both conservation and rehabilitation of existing housing and related facilities and the redevelopment of blighted areas by reconstruction. Administration of the present urban redevelopment program, now under the city's planning office, is to be transferred to the new board, which consists of the heads of the planning board, the housing authority, the board of health

and hospitals, the building code revision committee, and six citizen members appointed by the mayor.

To assist in coordinating various city functions for purposes of conservation and redevelopment a city coordinating committee is included in the plan; it is made up of the directors or representatives of the housing authority and the following departments: building, planning, health, welfare, parks, law and conservation-redevelopment. It is to aid the new board in developing a program for the elimination of slums and blight.

The health department, which has given great attention to housing, is asked to prepare a new housing code with the aid of other departments and citizen groups, for early consideration by the city council. The planning department is similarly urged to draft a new zoning ordinance. Studies as to the need of a special housing court are recommended. It is also asked that the new board establish neighborhood projects committees for conservation and redevelopment.

N. Y. Village Officials May Serve Four Years

Villages in New York State are empowered to lengthen the terms of their mayors and boards of trustees from two years to four, by virtue of a new law effective July 1. A resolution increasing the term of office must be adopted, subject to approval of the voters at a referendum. Present officials will serve out their two-year terms.

Legislative Service Conference to Meet in California

The seventh annual meeting of the Legislative Service Conference will be held in San Francisco and Sacramento, California, September 8-11. Conference headquarters will be at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco. General sessions will be held on September 8. On the following day there will be workshop sessions on legislative research, legislative fiscal analysis, clerks and secretaries, statutory and code revision, and reference and library services. On September 10 there will be an all-day tour to the state capitol at Sacramento, with sessions there. Concluding general sessions will be on September 11.

The Council of State Governments, Chicago, acts as secretariat for the Conference.

Law and Public Administration Linked in New Cornell Course

A new four-year graduate program at the Law School and the School of Business and Public Administration of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, enables students to combine work for the bachelor of laws and a master's degree in public or business administration. Ordinarily the LL.B. requires three years and the master's degree two.

Cities, Counties Continue to Cooperate

Buildings, Fire Reporting, Defense Activities Shared

THE ever present trend toward greater intergovernmental cooperation at the local level shows no sign of abating. For example, in Oneida County, New York, the various municipalities and other units which are members of the County Fire Chiefs Association have been instrumental in getting the county to develop a county-wide cooperative mutual aid fire protection system. The County Board of Supervisors appropriated some $60,000 to aid in establishing a single reporting center and this has been supplemented by nearly $30,000 put in by the cooperating local units. The result is that, throughout the county, improved fire protection without delay is available.

Knoxville and Knox County, Tennessee, are investigating the possibilities of consolidating their school systems.

At La Crosse, Wisconsin, the city council has unanimously approved a plan for a joint city-county building.

Construction of a community building, to be part of the public recreation facilities, has been approved by Lenoir County and the city of Kingston in North Carolina.

Wake County and the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, have a coordinator of civil defense whose office is jointly paid for on a 50-50 basis by the two units.

Manager Plan Advocated for Oklahoma Counties

A bill to be submitted to the Oklahoma Legislative Council calls for granting counties in that state permission to adopt either a county manager or a county executive form of government. At a meeting before the Canadian County Joint Advisory Committee, State Representative Hugh Sandlin of Holdenville and Dr. H. V. Thornton, of the University of Oklahoma's Bureau of Government Research, supported the bill.

Representative Sandlin commented that a number of Oklahoma counties are practically bankrupt and he believes the utilization of either of the proposed forms would enable them to get back to proper financial operation. Dr. Thornton cited the successful operation of the county manager plan in other states, notably Virginia.

Suffolk County Considers Forms of Government

A nonpartisan committee of five members will consider four forms of county government for possible application to Suffolk County, New York. They are the county administrator, county manager, county director and county president forms, as set forth in New York State's optional county charter law.[1] If one of these plans is recommended to the board of county supervisors by the committee, and is adopted by resolution of the board, it must then be submitted to the voters for majority approval.

The plan for a new form of government for Suffolk has recently been endorsed by Congressman Stuyvesant Wainwright of the county, who urges steps be taken to secure home rule.

The present ten-man board of supervisors acts as both legislative and executive branches of the county.

[1]See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins, the REVIEW, June 1952, page 288.

Clackamas County Voters Defeat Manager Plan

In an election on May 21, the voters of Clackamas County, Oregon, turned down a proposal for the county manager plan by a vote of 14,284 to 8,001. This was the third attempt to have a county manager charter adopted by the voters. The plan would have been a fairly extensive one and would have involved appointing most of the present independently elective county officers.

One of the most active groups behind the manager plan was the League of Women Voters. Arrayed against the plan were a variety of newspapers, public officials and ad hoc voters groups.

County Highway Engineer Plays Important Role

Professor John E. Stoner of Indiana University says the county highway engineer is somewhat of a general manager and professional leader. Writing in a recent issue of *The County Officer*, publication of the National Association of County Officials, Washington, D. C., Professor Stoner puts forth his conclusions as a result of a study of county highway engineers in Minnesota. He feels that the role of the county highway engineer is broader than merely supplying technical information and making purely engineering decisions. At the very least, the county engineer must gain a perspective of state-county relations and must be aware of the economic life of the county and developing trends that might be reflected in traffic congestion.

In conveying this information to the county board, he must understand public opinion in the county as a whole and seek to lead it as well.

In short, the engineer emerges as one of the most important and most trusted general officials in county government.

Proposals for Stronger Local Government in Pennsylvania

A number of specific proposals for securing stronger local government in Pennsylvania have been made by Professor H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government at the Pennsylvania State University. As set forth in the *County Officer*, these are: (1) reorganization of the structure of county government to eliminate most of the elective offices except the county commissioners, who would be the governing body of the county; (2) consolidation of the 1,500 townships of the second class to 500 townships; (3) development of a modern program for rural road building and maintenance under the leadership of the county; (4) development of a broader county health program; (5) continued modernization of assessment procedures in counties.

Taxpayer Group Recommends Coroner Be Made Appointive

The Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, California, has suggested to the board of supervisors that it recommend to the state legislature a bill permitting the office of coroner to be made appointive at the discretion of the board and requiring such appointee to be a licensed physician. County home rule, it was found, did not include power to shift a statutory elective office to appointive status and the association plans to press for extension of the appointive system to include the county clerk, recorder and public administrator if the supervisors so desire.

R.S.C.

Colorado Women Support Four-Year County Terms

The State Board of the League of Women Voters of Colorado is in favor of four-year terms for county officers.

(Continued on page 377)

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

How Best Finance Toll Highways

Bonds Guaranteed by State Cheaper Than Revenue Bonds

PERHAPS the most popular innovation of the current period is the toll highway, constructed by a semi-autonomous state authority and financed by the issuance of bonds. These bonds are payable principally, and often solely, from tolls and incidental income derived from the operation or lease of such concessions as gas stations and restaurants located on the highway right-of-way. A formidable chain of such highways has already been provided by construction completed, under way or close to the financing stage, and the prospect of a coast-to-coast chain of toll roads within a decade or so no longer seems fantastic.

Basically, there is nothing new about toll roads in the United States nor publicly financed transportation arteries. The issuance of state and local bonds for toll roads and canals in the early 1800s played a significant part in the earliest wave of state and municipal bond defaults, and railroad aid bonds were a central feature of the defaults and debt repudiations of the later decades of the nineteenth century. The authority device was then unknown as a tool of state and local government in the United States, and most of the publicly issued bonds were used to aid private companies which constructed and operated the facilities. The subsequent failure of many of the enterprises and the damage to the public credit led directly to the inclusion in most state constitutions and many city charters of the present prohibitions against the use of the public credit in aid of private interests.

The modern toll road, however, is a far different creature, administratively and financially, than its ill-fated predecessors on this continent, although many observers fear that among the plethora of projects now undertaken or proposed some failures may occur. The opportunities for soundly conceived engineering and financial programs now are undoubtedly immeasurably greater than they were when we last experimented with toll highways and, more importantly, the twentieth century projects are wholly governmental in character, susceptible of public scrutiny in all their details if not wholly responsive to democratic control as practiced generally at the state and local level.

The first of the modern toll roads was the Pennsylvania Turnpike, constructed during the 1930s with federal emergency relief aid and now spanning the state from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Later, relatively short toll roads were constructed, or tolls were imposed to permit the improvement of existing routes, in Westchester County, New York, and southern Connecticut.

Postwar, New Jersey—a notorious laggard in the construction of modern traffic arteries because of its long adherence to a policy of limiting construction to that possible from current highway revenues—started the Jersey Turnpike, traversing the state north and south, New York State started the New York Thruway, to connect the metropolis with the Great Lakes, and Ohio began the Ohio Turnpike, to connect the western end of the Pennsylvania Turnpike with Cleveland and meet proposed toll roads in southern Michigan and across Indiana and Illinois.

An imposing link-up of toll roads is already in prospect, mainly in the eastern and midwestern sections. On the Atlantic coast toll roads are in existence or close to a reality in an almost unbroken chain from northern Maine to Delaware. With-

in another year or so, they will carry the motorist westward from New York City to Cleveland, and proposed links in the chain will, when financing plans have been perfected, extend to Chicago, thence to Kansas City, Oklahoma City and south into Gulf and central Texas. In the upper Mississippi Valley, proposals would extend toll roads from Chicago to Minneapolis and to Omaha. Authorized are connecting toll roads across southern West Virginia, western Virginia and North Carolina to connect Charleston and Charlotte, and from Fort Pierce to Miami in Florida. Denver and Boulder, Colorado, are already connected by a toll highway and plans are under consideration for a toll road along the western side of Puget Sound, Washington, from Tacoma through Seattle to Everett.

According to *Engineering News-Record,* toll road construction for 1954 definitely set includes nine projects with a length of nearly 1,100 miles, costing one and a half billion dollars, while half a dozen other projects, covering about 500 miles and costing close to a billion dollars, are likely starters during the year.

Financing

Toll roads have one major feature in common: construction and, generally, operating expenses are intended to be financed from the income from tolls and other charges imposed on the users of the highways. In fact, most of the projects are dependent for the repayment of their capital indebtedness exclusively on tolls and incidental concession income. Only a few major projects have been subsidized to any important extent with the general public credit: the Pennsylvania Turnpike, whose original highway was built partly with federal aid during the recovery years of the great depression; the New York State Thruway, about half of whose prospective indebtedness will be guaranteed by the state of New York; the Garden State Parkway in New Jersey, the major portion of whose debt is guaranteed by the state of New Jersey; and the Connecticut Throughway, to which certain gas tax revenues have been pledged for debt service additional to the usual tolls.

The extraordinarily large sums of money involved in toll road construction —or, for that matter, in the construction of any modern limited access highway— and the fact that financing plans either require exclusive dependence on tolls or contemplate the substantial use of tolls to avoid dependence on the general credit of the state, make the toll road innovation of particular interest to all concerned with state-local fiscal affairs. Especial concern has been felt in some quarters because of the almost exclusive dependence on the revenue bond device in raising money to pay for construction. Revenue bonds, by their nature, are a more expensive type of financing than the general obligation or guaranteed bond backed not only by a pledge of tolls but also by the general credit of the state. Enabling legislation, and sometimes constitutional amendments, have been necessary to authorize virtually all the toll roads, and many students have felt that more liberal use of full faith and credit obligations in conjunction with the pledge of and covenant to collect tolls would materially lessen project financing costs as well as more adequately protect the public credit against temporary fluctuations in project earnings.

There can be little doubt that default on a toll road revenue bond will prove to be approximately as adverse in its effect on the credit of the state in which it is located and pursuant to whose laws it was issued as would a default on the state's general obligations, nor does it appear likely that the use of state general revenues can long be avoided in the eventuality that a revenue bond financed project fails over a prolonged period to meet its obligations in the manner orig-

inally contemplated. There may be no legal liability on the state's part, but, as a practical matter, the moral and political obligation of the state to stand behind its instrumentalities and provide all necessary implementation to maintain their integrity would seem to be overpowering. This being so, some observers argue, the state might better insist at the beginning that the means of financing used be the most economical available, in order that toll charges be as low as economically feasible.

Relative Costs

New York State's Thruway Authority provides an illustration of the relative costs of revenue bond financing. This project was originally expected to cost about half a billion dollars and the voters, by constitutional amendment, authorized the issuance of state-guaranteed bonds of that amount, secured by the state's credit and additionally by the revenues from tolls, etc. Cost increases (original estimates were made in 1950), the addition to the original project of several major extensions, and the decision to construct restaurant and service station centers as part of the project have about doubled the capital expense now prospective and, lacking authority to finance the entire project with bonds guaranteed by the state, the overrun of costs is being financed with bonds payable solely from revenues. A comparison of the interest costs and yield rates on $250,000,000 state-guaranteed bonds issued in 1953 with $300,000,000 revenue bonds issued early in June 1954 discloses that the authority will pay a material penalty for the use of revenue bonds.

The state-guaranteed bonds were issued in two installments, each of $125,000,000, in May and September 1953, and were identical as to maturity. Each issue was due serially in annual installments in 1958 through 1984, and had an average life of 22 1/6 years. Both issues were sold at par, with interest coupons so arranged that the net interest cost to the authority to maturity was 2.63827 per cent for the bonds sold in June and 2.6981 per cent for the bonds sold in September.

The revenue bonds, sold in June 1954, comprised $75,000,000 serials due in annual installments in 1964-79 and having an average life of eighteen years, and $225,000,000, 40-year term bonds due in 1994. The average life for the entire issue was 34 1/2 years. The bonds were taken by the underwriters at a price of 99.054, representing a net interest cost to maturity of 3.0716 per cent.

The prices and net interest costs do not disclose the full difference between the general and the revenue bonds, since material differences exist in the size of the issues, the term to maturity and market conditions at the time the bonds were sold. The June 1953 sale was made just as the money market was descending to a recent low and the September issuance before any material improvement had begun, while the recent sale enjoyed a more stable and improved market. Illustrative of the varied conditions is *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative state and municipal bonds; at the dates closest to the respective sales, it was 2.75 per cent in June 1953, 2.91 per cent in September 1953, and 2.51 per cent in June 1954.

Price Comparison

A good measure of the differential between the New York State Thruway state-guaranteed and revenue bonds may be made by a comparison of the prices at which corresponding bonds of the respective issues were reoffered to investors by the underwriters. Using bonds of twenty-year maturity, which corresponds to the maturities predominantly used in the construction of the index just cited, the June 1953 issue was reoffered to yield 2.45 per cent, the September 1953 issue to yield 2.50 per cent, and the June 1954 revenue issue to yield 2.75 per cent. The two

state-guaranteed maturities were priced to yield respectively 30 and 41 basis points *less* than the index yield as it stood at the time of the reofferings, while the revenue bonds were priced to yield 24 basis points *more* than the index yield. The extreme spread was 65 basis points, or 65/100 of one per cent interest per annum, while the lower spread was just over 1/2 of one per cent. In dollars, the $300,000,000 revenue issue evidently costs at least $150,000 in interest per annum more than the authority would have been required to pay on state-guaranteed bonds. Over the term of the issue, the additional cost of having used revenue bonds might fairly be regarded as not less than $5,000,000.

It may be noted, further, that the spread between the cost of state-guaranteed and revenue bonds in the case of the New York project does not necessarily provide an extreme measure of the additional expense inherent in revenue bond financing. The New York Thruway is a highly regarded venture, connecting the nation's metropolis with other large urban centers, and the fact that part of the total project cost will be financed with state-guaranteed bonds additionally enhances the security of the strictly revenue-type obligations. In the case of less favored projects, the differential in favor of state-guaranteed financing might well be expected to be greater.

Evidently voters and taxpayers would be well advised to take a closer look at revenue bond versus general bond financing for their twentieth century highway systems; the using public is going to pay the bill in any event and the time may come when a nickle or a dime difference in tolls will seem more important than it does today.

ILLINOIS FACES REDISTRICTING

(Continued from page 348)

go will be obtained by dividing the eighteen districts into the number of city square miles and dividing the area of suburban Cook County by six will give the size of districts from that section.

Though little exists on paper to indicate how these districts will be organized, Governor Stratton has assured the author they will follow historic county lines. Thousands of such county combinations might be possible but it is probable that senatorial districts in the southern part of the state will contain less than 50,000 persons while suburban districts near and in Cook County will have populations in the vicinity of 300,000.

Despite this shortcoming, the amendment has much to be said in its behalf. First, it will reapportion the state in such a way as to reflect the latest population trends in Illinois—at least in one house. It will eliminate the gross underrepresentation of a majority of the people of the state and reduce the influence of the worst element in the legislature. The amendment also provides what should be an adequate provision to assure regular apportionments in the future. If the amendment is adopted Illinois need never have another fifty-year period pass without being redistricted.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Elections Retire deValera

New Parliament Elected by Hare System of P. R.

A LOSS of eight seats in the Irish elections last May more than melted away the two-vote margin by which the Fianna Fail (Men of Destiny) party had held a majority in the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament). In terms of first-choice votes—Ireland uses the Hare system of P. R.—Fianna Fail obtained only 43.4 per cent of the 1,335,339 valid votes cast.

As a consequence of the election John Costello, whose Fine Gael (United Ireland) party stood second in first-choice votes and number of seats obtained, on June 2 succeeded Eamon deValera as prime minister, winning parliamentary leadership by a vote of 79 to 66. Except for Fianna Fail all the parties and most of the independent members backed Costello.

As usual in P. R. elections the principal leaders of the larger parties were easily elected in their constituencies whether their parties had local majorities or not.

The distribution of first-choice votes by parties was closely similar to the results of the election, as shown in the accompanying table.

P. R. Elections Held in New South Wales

The first elections under the law providing the Hare system for local elections in the Australian state of New South Wales were held on December 5, 1953.[1] In all municipal and shire (rural) elections in which three or more seats were to be filled, 137 communities, P. R. was used. In the remaining 103 places, mostly shires, where only one or two candidates were chosen from a ward or riding (rural electoral division), the al-

[1]See the REVIEW, March 1954, page 146.

IRISH NATIONAL ELECTION, MAY 1954

	First-choice Votes	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats Won*	*Percentage of Seats*
Fianna Fail (Men of Destiny)	578,997	43.4	65	44.2
Fine Gael (United Ireland)	427,031	32.0	50	34.0
Labor	161,034	12.1	19	12.9
Clann na Talmhan (Farmers)	51,069	3.8	3	2.0
Clann na Poblachta (Republicans)	41,249	3.1	5	3.4
Independents	70,882	5.3	5	3.4
Others	5,077	0.4	0	0
	1,335,339		147	

ternative vote system was applied. At the time of adoption of the law on November 10, 1953, the method in effect for all local elections was ordinary plurality voting, save for the town of Armidale, which has used P. R. since 1928, and for the city of Newcastle, where the alternative vote system (Hare system applied to the election of one only) was in use.

The Hare system, the only form of P. R. ever adopted in Australia, was the method provided. The change to the new system resulted from action by the New South Wales state parliament. Provision was made in the law for local voters, by petition, to hold referenda on the question of continuing P. R., but prospects of any repeal efforts seem remote at this time.

P.R. Supported

In the course of the parliamentary debate on the issue of adopting P. R., the government, which sponsored the measure, stressed that democratic rule and effective voting required the use of P. R. and that efficiency and honesty in administration were impaired whenever one group of voters could monopolize all the seats. Under the former plurality system a minority of voters—sometimes as small as 35 per cent—often won a majority or even a monopoly of the seats. Furthermore, and more important, over a period of several months preceding the introduction of the P. R. bill, and occasionally in recent years, charges of corruption in several local councils, which were under the exclusive or near-exclusive control of only one party, received wide attention. The fact that A. G. Huie, the leading advocate of P. R. in that state, had kept the remedy for such electoral defects in the public eye over many years was an important factor in the adoption of P. R.

In the parliamentary debate on the bill, it is interesting to note, the opposition speakers expressed little objection to the principle of proportional representation. Many of them affirmed and emphasized their support of P. R. as such but challenged the government's motives for introducing it at the time. The opposition's primary attack was the charge that the government had designed the electoral changes to promote its own partisan interests in local elections.

The arguments so commonly expressed by American critics of P. R., namely, that it promotes splinter parties, causes instability in government, is difficult for the voter to understand and hard for electoral officers to administer, were not even mentioned by the opposition, perhaps because they knew that Australian experience with P. R. could not support such claims. The successful example of Armidale's use of P. R. was cited by government spokesmen and not challenged by the opposition.

About the only reference to the issue of P. R. and communism in all the parliamentary debates on the proposal was the following statement, made by a member of the opposition (Conservative) party:[2]

> Proportional representation seems to be a reasonable system of selecting representatives . . . and the principal disadvantage that can be suggested is that it provides an opportunity for all types of parties to be represented. Such might include the Communist party, but to my mind no danger lies here. If that party has a content in the community let it be brought into the open so that its strength can be known. Proportional representation, on that score alone, might have advantages over the present system.

No claim was expressed that P. R. would weaken political parties. On the

[2]Hon. H. D. Ahern, New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, 1953, No. 33, page 1468.

contrary, opposition speakers insisted that P. R. would unduly strengthen political parties and machines and hurt independents.[3] A large amount of opposition criticism to the P. R. proposal was not against "true proportional representation," to use their words, but against certain features of the "government's plan of hybrid proportional representation."

System Criticized

The chief criticisms in this connection were: (1) disapproval of the provision for the compulsory marking of preferences (see below), (2) opposition to provision for grouping candidates, whenever any of them so request, on the ballot according to party (a practice continued from the former plurality system) and (3) objection to the undue haste with which the new system was to be applied. Elections under the new proposal, which became law on November 10, were held on December 5. However, despite the short notice, the elections were apparently carried out smoothly by staffs without prior experience with P. R.

Although objections were made to the P. R. bill—of course an opposition party will usually object, if only as a matter of custom—it is interesting to note that no support was expressed for continuing plurality voting. Speakers of both parties described the "first-past-the-post system," as plurality voting is usually called in Australia, with such terms as "this discredited system" and "this outmoded system of voting by crosses, which belongs more to an illiterate age." As all state and federal ballots in New South Wales are marked by numbers, the value of uniformity was advanced as argument for eliminating voting by means of X-marks.

Some differences between American and Australian P. R. election features were seen in the recent contests, in addition to the Australian practice of selecting surplus votes on an exact basis and of allowing "secondary" surpluses to accumulate.

Grouping of candidates. The P. R. election provisions, like those of the plurality system superseded, allow candidates, upon their request, to be placed on the ballot in groups, thus permitting all candidates of the same party to appear together in a separate block on the ballot. Arranged in a horizontal row, the groups were assigned by lot to positions on the ballot. When grouping was not requested, an alphabetical column was used. Names were not rotated.

The grouping feature, together with compulsory marking of preferences and the use of "how-to-vote" cards, explained below, enables political party managers to influence strongly the choice of which party candidates will be elected. If party supporters faithfully follow their party's recommendations, the effect of the grouping is to simulate the operation of a list system. However, as there is no obligation for the voter to observe the party's order of listing, the benefit of the full freedom of choice under the Hare system—to pick and choose individually among all candidates—is available whenever the voter wishes to use it.

The P. R. election in Sydney illustrated the voters' ability to "pick and choose" with success when they want to, notwithstanding party groups and how-to-vote cards. In this instance, Candi-

[3] Actually what these speakers had in mind in denouncing what they called proportional representation was not P. R. itself but the alleged prospect that the government party (Labor) would combine the introduction of P. R. with an effort to establish state party politics in local affairs by running party tickets in council elections. Traditionally it was accepted that local affairs should not be connected with state politics, although departure from this view has increased in recent years.

date Green was listed No. 15 on the ballot and on the Labor party how-to-vote card. As Mr. Green's party could not expect to win more than eleven or twelve of the twenty seats to be filled, it was assumed that the party candidates listed as No. 13, 14, and 15 had no hope of being elected. Supporters of Green, however, campaigned for No. 1 votes for him and he was elected as the eleventh and last successful candidate of his party. The candidate ranked as No. 11 on the endorsed party list was therefore not elected.

How-to-vote cards. Coupled with the provision for party grouping on the ballot is the use of how-to-vote cards. This card consists of what is roughly a sample version of the official ballot and lists the preference numbers for all candidates as recommended by the party sponsoring the voting card. These cards are distributed by party workers at the polling places where they are accepted and looked for by party supporters, who carry them into the booths and copy the preferences indicated by the sample marking onto the official ballot. Because of compulsory marking of preferences, together with the absence of party labels on the ballot, voting cards are welcomed and their advice observed in overwhelming numbers by party supporters.

Treatment of Surpluses

Unusual surpluses. As most voters of each party, following the voting card, will record their first choices for the same candidate, the No. 1 candidate receives a huge surplus. In the Sydney elections, in which the quota was 4,189, the No. 1 candidate on the Labor list received 38,920 votes; his counterpart in the other major party received 26,031. Because most of the ballots can be readily classified on the basis of the pattern of preferences indicated, the different types were "blocked" by the Sydney counting staff into respective groups in accordance with similarity of pattern. This procedure, attended to before any transfers were made, greatly expedited the transfer of surplus.

Compulsory marking of preferences. Voters under the new law were required, at the penalty of having their ballots declared invalid, to mark preferences for twice the number of candidates to be elected, plus one, up to fifteen. Choices beyond fifteen were not required. This stipulation accounted for practically all invalidity other than blank ballots. In this land of compulsory voting the latter presumably are deposited by those few who, though not wishing to vote, are motivated by the wish to avoid the fine for non-voting.

George Howatt, *Fulbright Scholar*
From University of Pennsylvania
to University of Melbourne

Italy Takes Steps to Return to P.R.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 427 to 75 on June 9, acted to repeal the non-proportional amendment added in 1953 to Italy's P. R. electoral law of 1948. The provision of this amendment for increasing the representation of a majority party or combination of parties never came into play because the governing parties fell just slightly short of a popular vote majority in the 1953 elections.

Charges that the 1953 enactment was unfair were believed to have contributed to the disappointing poll of the governing parties in the 1953 election. Prime Minister Mario Scelba, who as interior minister endorsed the 1953 amendment, pledged himself, on the eve of the recent repeal, to replace the "bonus seat" law by a fair proportional representation statute. In the meanwhile the 1948 law would remain in effect.

At the writing of this report, the Senate had not concurred in the action of the Chamber of Deputies, but its endorsement was generally expected.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Albuquerque Voters 'Throw Rascals Out'

Newspaper Cites Need for a New Council-manager Charter

THE political career of one of the most colorful and controversial figures in New Mexico politics came to an end as a result of the April 6 city election in Albuquerque. Clyde Tingley, alderman, city commissioner, governor and most recently mayor under the council-manager plan, lost the majority control of the city commission (council) when an avalanche of votes elected the ticket of a newly organized Citizens' Committee. Although Mr. Tingley remains on the five-man commission for another seventeen months, his thirty-year control of city government collapsed with the staggering defeat of the pro-Tingley forces marshalled under the Albuquerque Unlimited banner.

The winning candidates, Richard Bice, Lars Halama and Maurice Sanchez, launched a vigorous and damaging attack against Mr. Tingley, the day-to-day meddling in administrative matters by the commission, the mishandling of public works projects and the deplorable condition of the city's finances. The voters marched to the polls in larger numbers than in any previous election to end Tingleyism.

A highlight of the election was the entrance into city politics of the first woman to wage a spirited campaign as an independent candidate and the first university professor to seek elective office. Miss Dorothy I. Cline, professor of government and author of a study on the operation of the council-manager plan in Albuquerque, supported the manager charter, denounced commission practices and condemned the use of slates and tickets in city manager elections. Although failing of election, she topped the list of independents and ran ahead of the Tingley ticket.

The Citizens' Committee, a guiding force in Albuquerque's government for the next four years, was an outgrowth of a citizens' council organized in December 1952 to study municipal problems, the charter and the council-manager plan. The council, reorganized into a larger Citizens' Committee, agreed that the city's critical problems could be solved only with the election of a commission majority pledged to observe the manager charter. As a consequence, the committee recruited a three-man ticket, opened headquarters in a downtown hotel and initiated a precinct organization. Three weeks prior to the election, the committee, backed by a number of civic and business groups as well as some key political figures, conducted an extensive publicity program via press, radio and television. Following the election, the chairman of the committee, C. L. Forsling, announced the Citizens' Committee would proceed with the establishment of a permanent organization.

The newly elected majority took immediate steps the second week in office to strengthen the city manager's position as chief executive and personnel director, locate additional revenues for the hard-pressed city, and assign to the executive departments the office formerly used by Mayor Tingley.

A severe setback for the new commissioners was the defeat of two tax proposals: a tax on cigarettes with the funds earmarked for recreation, and a gasoline tax to be used for streets. The cigarette tax lost by a slim margin of

376 out of 22,644 votes, whereas 50 per cent of the voters opposed the tax on gasoline.

The commissioners were heartened, on the other hand, by the passage of bond issues totaling $9,200,000 for libraries, streets, storm and sanitary sewers, water and additional money for an auditorium. The building of a municipal auditorium—theatre vs. convention hall, uptown vs. downtown—has been a major issue in city politics for 25 years.

The citizens of Albuquerque are hopeful for the first time in 37 years—since adoption of the manager plan—that a commission majority will be able to enforce the city charter while establishing responsible and serviceable government. It is generally conceded that the new commissioners will be harassed with the problem of obtaining sufficient revenues for a city that has been bursting its seams since the beginning of the defense program, and has been accustomed for years to pressure-group government.

Editorializing on the sweeping victory of the Citizens' Committee, the Albuquerque *Journal* cites the fact that provisions of the city's charter, adopted in 1917, "when the city manager form of government was just coming into vogue, appear to be inadequate to meet present-day needs. . . . Modern-day charters incorporate a number of things that are essential to good operation of a city manager form of government that are not touched on in the Albuquerque code. . . . Albuquerque did not have much precedent to go by when it drew the present charter. The city could profit now by a study of the newer codes and come up with revisions to meet present-day needs."

DOROTHY I. CLINE

University of Mexico

Citizens Defeat Pawtucket Machine

The first nonpartisan election in the history of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was held January 4. The election was the culmination of a long uphill fight on the part of the Citizens' League for good government.[1]

Pawtucket adopted a new charter under the provisions of the state's 1951 home rule amendment, but the courts declared that such charters could not provide for nonpartisan election of council since only the legislature could regulate election matters. Later the legislature, at a special session called by the governor, gave the city permission to use its nonpartisan provisions.

The Citizens League supported a slate of candidates for council in the nonpartisan primary only three of whom were nominated. In the final election, however, the Democratic city administration that has held power for over twenty years "went down to smashing defeat under a landslide of votes." It secured only two members in the new, streamlined, nine-man city council which will inaugurate the city's new mayor-council government. A combination of five candidates endorsed by the Republican-Independent fusion and two supported by the Citizens League won the other seven.[2]

"Congratulations to the voters of Pawtucket," declared the Pawtucket *Times*. "To no one but the men and women of Pawtucket, the majority who swept the Democrat machine from office, are the congratulations due.

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[1]See "Cities Rush Home Rule Gate," the REVIEW, February 1953, page 73; "Rhode Island Court Blocks Home Rule," November 1953, page 515; "Rhode Island Cities Win Nonpartisan Vote," December 1953, page 568.

[2]The Citizens League also supported candidates for the seven-member school committee, nominating five in the primary all of whom were elected.

"After years of striving for representative and responsible government they have accomplished their broad purpose, home rule, nonpartisan primaries and nonpartisan elections, a new charter, a strong mayor. They have a new foundation for better government and on it we hope the new city officials will build in the public interest. . . .

"But there is a particular group most worthy of commendation. They are the members of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, a comparative handful of men and women who in the interest of all the community gave unselfishly of themselves and of their time to keep burning the spark of representative government. . . .

"We can go forward to better things if the new city officials, the mayor and the city council and the school committee keep before them the message of yesterday's election, the desire of the people to have better things in a better city."

Connecticut Women Hold Mock Constitutional Convention

The League of Women Voters of Connecticut has come a long way and it still has far to go, but its mock constitutional convention at Hartford, May 18, was a giant step toward the goal of a modern constitution for Connecticut. Attended by 95 delegates from 48 local leagues, plus observers and members of the press—180 in all—the convention was the culmination of four years of intensive study on revising the state constitution and a long-standing effort by the league to bring about improved methods of state government operation. During the morning the delegates divided into four committees—direct citizen action, legislative, executive and judicial. After lengthy and searching discussion of the various changes needed in each of these areas, the groups adjourned for lunch with the satisfaction of having approved, either by unanimous or large majority vote, the principles to be presented to the joint session in the afternoon.

Dr. Marjorie Dilley, chairman of the department of government at Connecticut College, New London, was chairman of the afternoon session. Twenty-five specific suggestions for revising the constitution were presented and voted upon by official delegates. A majority of the motions were passed without dissent.

Major recommendations included:

1. A constitutional provision guaranteeing home rule;

2. A constitutional provision for a mandatory, direct, closed primary for the nomination of state officials, U. S. senators and representatives, and state senators;

3. Mandatory provision requiring that the question of constitutional revision be put before the people every twenty years;

4. Representation for every town in the lower house of the General Assembly (the number of representatives per town to be determined by the town's population);

5. A mandatory provision for redistricting the Senate after each census;

6. Annual sessions for the General Assembly;

7. Restatement and strengthening of the ban on dual office-holding;

8. A short ballot for state officials, to include only the governor and lieutenant-governor;

9. Reduction of executive departments to a number not exceeding twenty;

10. Strengthening of the governor's powers of appointment and dismissal;

11. Placement of full administrative control over all courts of the state with the Supreme Court and the chief justice;

12. Appointment of all state judges by the governor from a list prepared by a commission established by law;

13. Provision for all compensation of judges to be established by law and paid by the state;

14. Deletion of all reference to county government from the constitution.

Two motions from the floor—for a unicameral legislature and to extend the primary to state representatives—were defeated, though minority feeling ran high on the latter question.

ELIZABETH H. HICKERSON
League of Women Voters of
Connecticut

Sound Government Committee

The Sound Government Committee of Johnson and Johnson and Affiliate Companies continues its efforts to keep employees informed on local government.[1] Its weekly *Two Minutes Please*—a single sheet, easily read—bears such headlines as "Where Does the Money Go?" and "What Does Your Local Tax Dollar Mean to You?" *What Can I Do About It?*, a pocket-sized leaflet of sixteen pages, well illustrated, is "a five-point program that works: (1) I will get information about political candidates, taxes, budgets, etc.; (2) I will register and vote for the best candidates; (3) I will speak and write to public officials and agencies; (4) I will join political organizations, civic organizations; (5) I will serve in government."

A Helping Hand

Newest civic group in Hennepin County, Minnesota, according to the *News Bulletin* of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, is the Richfield Citizens League. The new organization is patterned after the Minneapolis group, whose officers attended organization meetings as advisors and consultants. While the two leagues are completely independent of each other, it is expected they will work together on problems common to the suburban communities.

The Minneapolis league's annual program will be divided into county projects, Minneapolis projects and projects of other political subdivisions, according to a resolution passed by the board.

According to the *News Bulletin*, "Creation of the Richfield Citizens League pointed up the need for clarification of the league's policy and function as to the problems of suburbs and other political subdivisions. With 47 townships, villages and cities outside of Minneapolis and 55 school districts, the league cannot attempt to even catalogue the problems of all of these subdivisions, let alone work on them. It will endeavor to make a contribution to the solution of problems which are common to cities or villages or townships or school districts in the county. In addition, upon request, the league will give technical and advisory assistance to groups of citizens wanting to organize on a permanent basis for the study of local issues."

Support Pro-manager Candidates

Citizens for Council-manager, which worked for and secured adoption of a council-manager charter for Parsippany–Troy Hills, New Jersey, supported a slate of candidates for the township's first nonpartisan council under the new charter. Candidates for the Citizens for Council-manager published a thirteen-point pledge to govern their actions if elected to the council, among them: "We pledge ourselves to be truly independent, without commitment to any political group, boss, party or to anyone else"; and "to make council-manager form of government work to the full letter and spirit under which it was conceived; we have been in favor of this form of government since it was first advocated here."

Children Study State

Spring has brought to Tennessee's

[1] See "Employees Study City Forms," by David J. Galligan, the REVIEW, October 1953, page 450.

capital, Nashville, fleets of buses and automobiles filled with children studying the state and its government. They tour state offices and the hundred-year-old capitol building, according to *The Tennessee Planner* (Tennessee State Planning Commission), watching the legislature if it is in session. Teachers prepare for these field trips by discussing the state government with their pupils for several months previously. Libraries furnish books on the state for use by classes, and the State Planning Commission and the Division of Information of the Department of Conservation furnish maps, organization charts, lists of cities and pamphlets.

Aid on Sanitation Problem

At the invitation of the commissioners of Allen County, Indiana, to the Civic Association for assistance in drafting a "county private sewage installation ordinance," the association has appointed a task force of home builders, engineers, health officials and representatives of several groups of citizens in the Citizens' Council. The volunteers will submit a tentative draft of an ordinance to the commissioners for possible approval.

Town Meetings on Planning

In Philadelphia the Citizens' Council on City Planning has reverted to the idea of holding town meetings and has received an enthusiastic response. The council has divided the city into districts and in each arranged a town meeting on the city's capital improvement program. Community groups which have been working with the council have joined it in sponsoring these meetings. In South Philadelphia over 300 people filled an auditorium and 235 people from Germantown, West Oak Lane, Chestnut Hill and Mount Airy attended a meeting covering those neighborhoods. In Northeast Philadelphia more than 300 citizens met at one of the elementary schools and in West Philadelphia 30 organizations worked together for the success of a meeting.

At each meeting Mayor Joseph Clark, Jr., and other top administrators are present to discuss the city's improvement program. After these officials have spoken, the moderator turns the meeting over to the audience by inviting questions on specific projects. Each member of the audience is familiar with the proposed improvements since he has received a booklet containing the capital program for his section of the city, reports the *News Letter* of the council. "Out of this exchange with the city representatives," says the *News Letter*, "has come a better citizen understanding of the city's planning program and a broader administrative knowledge of local problems."

The Passaic-Bergen (New Jersey) Community Planning Association heard a panel of experts discuss the President's Housing Program on April 20. Speakers included Emanuel M. Spiegel, past president of the National Association of Home Builders; Alexander Summer, past president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and member of the President's Advisory Committee, and Wm. Charney Vladeck, president of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York.

Strictly Personal

Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, has been the recipient of two honors recently. The Citizens League, at a testimonial meeting, presented him with a gold watch "suitably inscribed." Chief speaker for the meeting was Hon. Chester A. Dolan, Jr., chairman of the Massachusetts "Baby Hoover Commission." who told of the commission's work. At a "Citizens in the News" breakfast, sponsored by the Pawtucket Business Chamber, Mr. O'Hare was presented with a plaque because of his election as president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries. In June Mr. O'Hare was appointed town manager of Stoughton, Massachusetts.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Attack on Metropolitan Miami Problems Outlined

Research Foundation Urges Vigorous Citizen Support

IN JULY 1953, immediately following the referendum in which city-county consolidation was narrowly defeated in Dade County, Florida, (27,600 to 26,692) the Miami city commission created the Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board and ordered it: (1) to make a thorough study of all governments in Dade County, except Homestead and Florida City, and (2) to determine what consolidation, merger, federation or reorganization of governments is desirable in order to effect economies, improve efficiency and facilitate the solution of metropolitan problems.

The board was further directed to draft a plan for consolidation or other reorganization, together with proposed legislation to put it into effect, and to submit the proposed plan to the voters of Dade County and the affected municipalities for ratification or rejection prior to the 1955 legislative session. It was authorized to spend $50,000, all expense to be borne by the city.

This is a mighty big job. It will take a great deal of time, patience, open-mindedness and hard work by the members and staff of the survey board. And it will require the cooperation and understanding of a great many people. Here are the major steps or stages in this job:

Stage 1. Organization of subcommittees to study various phases of the subject, agreement on basic policies and procedures, selection of consultants and signing of a contract. This generally takes a month or two.

Stage 2. Initial hearings for officials, citizens and civic organizations in order to receive their suggestions as to problems which should be studied and possible solutions of these problems.

Stage 3. Field studies by the consultants covering the organization, activities and finances of each government concerned, with particular attention to possible conflict or duplication between governments.

Stage 4. Analysis by the consultants of the information and suggestions secured in Stages 2 and 3 and careful consideration of the pros and cons of various alternative solutions in the light of the particular conditions existing in Dade County. Stages 2, 3 and 4 can be done concurrently. Altogether, they take about eight months—some sort of preliminary report then.

Stage 5. Consideration of various alternative solutions by the survey board with the advice of consultants culminating in tentative decisions by the board as to the most desirable and satisfactory plan. It will take at least two months, probably longer, to resolve differences and secure substantial agreement on all major points.

Stage 6. Formulation by the consultants of the detailed plan, incorporating tentative decisions of the survey board. The detailed plan should outline a complete organization and major procedures, including a smooth transition to the new order of things. This plan must anticipate the complications and objections which will arise and provide a clear, convincing answer for each one. The plan will have to be cleared with the survey board. When completed, it will constitute the specifications for bill drafting. At least two months should be allowed for Stage 6.

Stage 7. Translation of the plan into legal language (legislation) by an at-

torney or attorneys of great competence, with the assistance of the consultants. This part of the project will include a careful check for constitutionality, because any plan, good or bad, is certain to be attacked in the courts. When the legislation has been completed and tentatively approved by the survey board, a preliminary report is generally published describing and carrying the full text of the proposed legislation. Estimated time for Stage 7, at least one month.

Stage 8. Hearings in all parts of the county in order to explain the tentative plan to officials, citizens and civic organizations, and to secure their comments, criticisms and suggestions culminating in reconsideration of the entire plan by the survey board in the light of objections received, and a final decision on each point. This will take from one to four months.

Stage 9. A well organized campaign to explain the proposed legislation to the citizens, answer objections and secure strong support for its adoption. At least three months should be allowed for this.

Progress to Date

The foregoing time schedule makes no allowance for vacations or for unusual delays, such as have already occurred. It is clear that the project cannot be completed until September 1955 at the earliest. As time rushes on, the temptation will be strong to "speed up" these operations and even omit some of them altogether. But short cuts would result in a half baked plan, full of "bugs," which would almost certainly be rejected by the voters. If this job is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well.

A year has elapsed since the Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board was created. Stage 1 has been completed and the following committees have been established: fire and police; planning and zoning; sanitation and sewerage; streets and highways; taxes, assessing and collecting; transportation and public utilities. Stages 2 and 3 are under way.

When created by the Miami city commission, the board consisted of twenty members, twelve of whom were named in the resolution. The other eight members were to be designated by the following bodies: county commissioners, school board and city commissions of Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Miami Springs, Miami Shores, Hialeah, and North Miami. These bodies, except the school board, declined to appoint anyone.

The Dade County League of Municipalities urged its members to boycott the project on the ground that it should be conducted by the league and financed by all of the municipalities, not just the city of Miami. On October 25, however, the league voted to participate. Organization of the board was completed shortly thereafter.

On December 14, the full board met and approved a contract with the University of Miami under which the university's Department of Government will: (1) hire a nationally recognized consulting firm to conduct the fact-finding survey and furnish technical advice and assistance, (2) secure an executive secretary for the board, (3) build up a library on metropolitan problems, and (4) submit a report of findings with several possible solutions. The university will be paid $37,500 for these service as reimbursement for expense incurred.

At first, the contract was held invalid by Miami's city attorney. After several weeks of negotiation, a revised contract was drafted which is satisfactory to all parties. Under this contract, the survey board will receive two kinds of reports: (1) the findings and recommendations of the consultants, and (2)

an analysis of possible alternative solutions by the University of Miami. Public Administration Service of Chicago has been engaged as the consultant for the fact-finding survey.

Later, the same or other consultants will be employed directly by the board to assist it in drafting and explaining the plan. These later stages (5 through 9) are not included in the university's contract. Cost of these services will be paid out of the remainder of the $50,000.

The Long Stretch Ahead

At the present rate, the project will not be completed until late 1955 or early 1956, but some recommendations may be ready before then. The original deadline (April 1955) is out of the question. This slow pace may be a blessing in disguise. It will afford time for public discussion and for allaying misunderstanding regarding an issue which has been highly controversial in the past.

Strong pressures will undoubtedly be exerted to delay and sabotage the project and to protect existing offices and powers against abolition or change of any sort. But if the survey board is sincere and determined, and if it takes the people of Dade County into full confidence at every stage, it will finally surmount all obstacles and will be able to submit a plan with such strong public support that it will be adopted.

Meanwhile the Dade County Research Foundation urges all civic organizations in the county to study this whole problem of metropolitan government and to support and assist the Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board in every possible way.

JOHN F. WILLMOTT
Executive Director
Dade County Research Foundation

GRA Announces Conference Plans

The 40th annual meeting of the Governmental Research Association is set for September 13 through 15 at Shawnee Inn, Fred Waring's establishment at Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania. The opening address will be delivered by Arthur S. Flemming, director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia will speak at the annual dinner.

Between these opening and closing events a diversified program of recreation, entertainment and provocative workshop and general sessions have been scheduled. Divergent subjects of current importance to researchers highlight the program. Among these are intergovernmental relations, vocational education, tax and debt limits, fire administration, financing and publicizing governmental research, metropolitan government and administrative plans for large cities.

Full information regarding the conference can be obtained by writing Miss Elsie Haas, secretary, Governmental Research Association, 684 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

GRA Holds Regional Conference

"Long Range Fiscal Programming in New York State" and "The Challenge of Rising Educational Costs" were the topics of discussion at the Governmental Research Association's Regional Conference in New York, May 15.

The discussion of fiscal programming centered largely on the report of the Temporary Commission on Fiscal Affairs of State Government (Bird Commission).[1] Homer E. Scace, director of the Department of Governmental Affairs, Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Albany, as chairman of the session, defined the broad requirements of sound fiscal planning and sketched out the

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1954, page 204.

chief obstacles that hinder the achievement of these in New York State. By an analysis of the state's financial reports and reporting procedures, he illustrated their inadequacy as instruments for budgetary planning and financial control.

The work of the commission's research staff was discussed by Lawrence S. Munson, of McKinsey and Company, the firm which conducted the bulk of the research. He listed as major accomplishments: (1) identification of areas where greatest financial benefits can be derived, and (2) the acceptance of specific recommendations by key state officials. The necessary tools for accomplishing sound fiscal planning as outlined by Mr. Munson, are: a comprehensive budget based on aims and purposes of government, a reporting structure that will enable department heads to make decisions, and an accounting system that reflects true costs.

The final speaker, A. E. Buck, who is serving as consultant to the commission, paid particular attention to specific aspects of fiscal planning and management. These include the need for competent staff service, the vital role of reporting to the whole process of government, and the role of the legislature in determining financial policy and in achieving financial responsibility. He pointed to the establishment of the Department of Administration in Kansas and the recommendations of the Pennsylvania State Government Survey Committee for a deputy to the governor to handle staff, management and housekeeping matters as being recent developments of significance, but deplored the failure of many states to develop adequate staff assistance for their chief executives.

The rising costs of education and the growing school population were discussed from three viewpoints, with Leigh B. Hebb, of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, presiding. Dr. Paul R. Mort, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, presented points of perspective for viewing this problem. He contended that the cost of buildings represented only a fraction of the total cost of educating the child, and that local citizen participation in education is not only healthy but it must be encouraged to prevent a division of our people into hostile groups of educators and lay citizens. Coupled with this viewpoint was a plea that separation of education from the traditional functional activities of government was desirable.

Allen H. Pike, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, stressed the need for citizen research agency participation in solving education problems and suggested possible areas of investigation. These include questions of classroom size, teachers' salaries and the kind of education the citizens are getting for their tax dollars. Examination of postgraduate records and accomplishments of students was suggested as a possible means for investigating the quality of education.

Dr. W. Donald Walling, in light of his experience as educational consultant and former director of research for the New York Commission on School Buildings, offered practical suggestions for all citizens, to aid in the consideration of school building plans. Emphasis was placed on low cost construction with functional and standardized classroom planning being urged.

Robert H. Kirkwood
Alvin K. Peterjohn
Institute of Public Administration

Bureau Notes

A new statewide civic organization, the Washington State Research Council, has taken over the resources and fact-finding programs of the Washington State Taxpayers Association and the

Washington Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. Moritz Milburn, who was president of the Taxpayers Association, and F. Bartow Fite, Jr., who headed the Research Bureau, are the president and vice-president, respectively, of the new group. Owen C. Dingwall, formerly with the Taxpayers Association, has been named executive director. The first number of the Research Council's new biweekly *Journal* appeared May 6, 1954. Offices of the council are 1059 Capitol Way, Olympia, and Arcade Building, Seattle.

(Beginning with this issue listings of research pamphlets and articles are being combined with the listings following Books in Review.)

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 359)

Petitions are being circulated to have the proposal put on the ballot. Much of the interest comes from previous league recommendations for four-year terms for state and other officials in connection with a study of constitutional revision.

Erie County Adopts Pay Classification Plan

Another county has taken steps toward systematic personnel administration by adopting a modern salary and job classification plan for county employees. The Erie County Board of Supervisors adopted essentially the recommendations made by a New York City management consultant firm, Barrington Associates, following a five-month job evaluation survey.

The survey showed that average salary levels in many instances in supervisory, technical, professional and administrative jobs lagged while those in unskilled and less responsible positions generally were sufficient.

Regional Conferences Held in Wisconsin

Once again, the University of Wisconsin, through its Bureau of Government of the Extension Division, is carrying on a series of conferences with the Wisconsin County Boards Association. The boards of supervisors will attend a series of regional conferences which will stress the theme that county administrative control should rest primarily with the board of supervisors if the operation of vital departments is to be economical and effective.

The series will deal with problems of organization and operation of the boards of supervisors and the relations of the boards to county administration. In addition, evaluations of the past, present and future role of the county in Wisconsin government will be made.

The conferences will be under the general guidance of Professor Lloyd W. Woodruff.

North Carolina Holds School for Coroners

A school for coroners was held by the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina in April. Main problems discussed concerned automotive fatalities by drunken drivers and the method of instruction was by the use of an imaginary case study.

Texas County Officials Hold Regional Meetings

Two of the regional associations of county judges and commissioners in Texas—south and west—have recently held annual meetings. At the West Texas Association meeting the problem of severe drought in the area was investigated and a demand was made that something be done to relieve it, perhaps in the direction of irrigation. Resolutions included such topics as the drought and the need for an improved system of grants in aid for highways.

Books in Review

GUIDE TO COMMUNITY ACTION, A SOURCE BOOK FOR CITIZEN VOLUNTEERS. By Mark S. Matthews. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954. 434 pp. $4.

Someone has said that the National Municipal League's service to citizens is "as practical as a pair of army shoes." The same can be said of this book. There never was anything like it before, for the simple reason that nobody had ever come along who was prepared to invest the tremendous industry and patience required to produce this handy but comprehensive *Source Book for Citizen Volunteers.* It was assuredly a labor of love on Mr. Matthews' part, growing out of his own experiences with the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, as a member of the Council of the National Municipal League and as a veteran of civic battles in his home town of Greenwich, Connecticut. The $4.00 price tag makes the result the book bargain of the year.

Mr. Matthews has assembled a few pages of well substantiated observations on practically every problem or project that may confront an American community, followed in each case by a verified list of sources, commercial or civic, that may be addressed for further information and advice. Sports and recreation, for instance—he sketches the activities that almost all communities provide and almost all the activities that some communities provide and then lists "Sources of Aid," six pages of them, from Academy of Model Aeronautics to Arthur Williams' book, *Recreation for the Aging,* and the U. S. Rubber Company's Soap Box Derby films.

He provides similar source materials on such programs as safety and fire protection, community arts, health, welfare, brotherhood, religion, vocational guidance, labor-management cooperation, government and community development. One section overhauls exhaustively the details of the task of developing a live association and keeping it alive and finding funds for it. There are appendices entitled Special Days, Parliamentary Procedure, Sources of Films and Effective Speech.

If *Guide to Community Action* is "as practical as a pair of army shoes," its purpose is as fundamental as the causes for which armies sometimes fight. That purpose is to show the citizen how to stay on top of his job in a world of increasing complexity, specialization and reliance on experts.

Mr. Matthews recognizes the need for the expert but holds to the sound American doctrine that the good life is everybody's responsibility and that nobody can really enjoy the good life unless he is contributing to it as an active participating member of his community. This book will help the good citizen tap the experts for information and guidance and teach him how to translate his new knowledge into sound policy and constructive programs for community action.

J. E. B.

THE MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK 1954. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and David S. Arnold. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, x, 613 pp. $10.

Every spring governmental researchers, public officials and others are re-equipped with the latest comparative municipal statistics when the new edition of *The Municipal Year Book* is off the press. In the 1954 edition, the 21st annual volume, the valuable tabulations on practically all aspects of municipal government, the carefully selected lists of references and model ordinances—all are brought up to date.. The commentaries analyzing trends in each phase of

municipal administration and the lead article, "Municipal Highlights of 1953" by George H. Deming, give a comprehensive picture of what has been happening on the municipal scene.

A significant innovation in the 1954 edition is the inclusion of a section on urban counties. Victor Jones, in his article introducing the section, comments: "The metropolitan county has been admitted at last to the family of urban governments." Recognition is given to the fact that an increasing number of municipal-type services are being provided by county governments. Two extremely useful tables present a variety of data on population, population density, land area, per cent of land in farms, county employment and payrolls as of October 1953, number of local government units within each county, kind of governing board and utilities owned and operated by the county. Inclusion of extensive data on county planning emphasizes the importance of the county as a planning unit.

Dr. Jones notes that "many urban counties have assumed functions that are administered over the entire county, . . . for example, health, welfare or parks." In the 1955 edition a tabulation of such functions would make this section even more useful.

In addition to the general report on "Metropolitan and Fringe Area Developments in 1953," John C. Bollens has prepared an analysis of "Controls and Services in Unincorporated Urban Fringes." The table on metropolitan areas and urbanized areas has been expanded to include the number and types of local government units within the standard metropolitan areas. These new features are valuable additions to the *Year Book's* coverage of metropolitan statistics.

A new section giving detailed data on refuse collection helps to round out the reporting of municipal activities.

The Municipal Year Book—1954 is an indispensable tool for all who are concerned with the operations of municipal government.

William N. Cassella, Jr.

American Democracy in Theory and Practice: State and Local Government. By Joseph E. McLean. New York 16, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953. xii, 192 pp. $1.85.

Rarely has there been a better time for an expert to take a searching look at state and local governments in America. The president of the United States has announced that he favors returning to the states many functions taken over by the federal government during the past two decades. Already $100,000,000,000 worth of offshore oil reserves have been given to four states. Secretary of the Interior McKay has indicated that similar action ought to be taken with respect to water-power sites, timberlands and grazing valleys still under federal control.

If custody over these valuable assets is shifted, what will be the nature of the custodianship? The long, hard look taken by Professor McLean, of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, of Princeton University, is scarcely encouraging. Dr. McLean, who also qualifies as a practical politician because he helped manage the successful gubernatorial campaign of Robert Meyner in New Jersey in 1953, believes that the 116,000 units of local government in America are in desperate need of reorganization.

State government is the umbrella over these plants. If it leaks, they will be in peril of inundation. One of Professor McLean's principal suggestions is for constitutional revision along the lines proposed by the National Municipal League. "Most state constitutions," says he, "suffer from the afflictions of old age—creaking joints, faulty coordi-

nation, a deaf ear (especially toward the urban populations), a fondness for quack remedies (patchwork of amendments as opposed to a complete overhaul), and a tendency to be garrulous at the expense of being relevant."

Because of his New Jersey background, the author prefers the convention method of amending or changing state constitutions to the old piecemeal system of separate clauses, voted upon one at a time. And he analyzes carefully the forces in New Jersey which worked for and against a complete overhaul of the state's basic charter, *viz.*, "petty partisan politics" against and "civic groups" in favor of the project.

This is a book which should be particularly valuable to men and women active in the realm of state and local governments. Professor McLean includes tables showing the salaries of state officials, disclosing the funds spent by each state on education at the various levels as well as other tables of immense importance. The salary schedule, for example, indicates that many states believe it safe to pay strategic office-holders far less than men of ability and training can earn in private industry.

As a member of an American state legislature, I am going to recommend that each member of our assembly be furnished with a copy of *State and Local Government* when we convene again in January of 1955. However, I feel sure my colleagues will agree, at most, with only 66 2/3 per cent of this conclusion by Professor McLean: "Present-day state legislators generally rank low in prestige, low in salaries and low in ability."

In spite of my admiration for this useful book, I have one complaint. As a westerner, I wish the author had included more information on state management and supervision of natural resources such as school lands and mineral reserves. Being one of those scholarly but provincial easterners, Professor McLean probably overlooked this phase of state responsibility which is so peculiar to those units of government that lie west of the Continental Divide.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
Member, Oregon State Senate

THE BOOK OF THE STATES. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1954. 676 pp. $10.00. (Price includes 1955 supplement).

The Book of the States is the standard reference work for those concerned with state government. Each new issue is awaited by students of state government because of the wealth of facts that the *Book* contains. The data presented, such as rosters of state officials and tabular presentations of basic facts concerning each of the states, are indispensable to officials, legislators, schools, libraries and citizens interested in state government.

The current edition has sections devoted to interstate relations, constitutions and elections, legislators and legislation, administrative organization, finance, the judiciary and major state services such as education, highways, health and welfare, etc. Each of the sections is prepared by a leading student of the subject and is a succinct, definitive statement of recent developments and trends.

JOHN P. KEITH

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN THE STATES. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1953. 158 pp. $3.

Public Authorities in the States, a report to the Governors' Conference of 1953, was prepared under the direction of Sidney Spector of the staff of the Council of State Governments.

At the 1952 meeting of the Governors' Conference, some concern was displayed over the increasing impact of the authority movement (particularly since World War II) on state government.

As a result, it adopted a resolution requesting the Council of State Governments to "make a study and submit recommendations with respect to the use, financing and responsibility of public authorities, as well as the philosophy underlying such governmental bodies."

This report is a response to that resolution. Its chief value lies in the enormous amount of up-to-date material it has gathered about the extensive use of local authorities. This information is assembled in usable form.

Mr. Spector and his associates grappled effectively with a variety of data which show that, since the end of World War II, the states and local governments are employing authorities for such purposes as "construction and operation of toll roads and bridges, airports, ports, terminal facilities, produce marketing centers, power, water and sewer systems and recreational centers. They are developing them as important instruments for constructing office buildings, armories, schools, hospitals and other institutional facilities."

The chief limitation of the report lies in its failure to come to grips with the question: Are authorities in many instances merely mechanisms to avoid coping with legal limitations rather than legitimate government forms, for example, in some instances the authority is being used as a dodge to avoid the debt limit.

It is undoubtedly true that the public corporation has a useful role to play at the local level. On the other hand, the proliferation of these agencies to fields normally handled by line departments raises serious questions. These authorities perform governmental functions and exercise great financial powers, but are only indirectly responsible to the voter. In certain instances, they have been set up contrary to the wishes of the general public. It is a question to what extent such authorities can be multiplied without jeopardizing the democratic process. This question the report does not deal with.

RUTH WEINTRAUB
Hunter College, New York City

ANNEXATION? INCORPORATION? A GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY ACTION. (Second edition.) By Stanley Scott. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1954. 163 pp.

This publication will be invaluable to citizens of unincorporated urban areas who are facing the question of what course they should follow—annex to a neighboring city or incorporate as an independent municipality? Although designed for use in California, the guide presents issues which must be resolved in fringe areas all over the nation.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. A. By Kathryn H. Stone. New York 16, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., 1954. 44 pp. 25 cents.

This is a factual yet readable account of the whole quadrennial process of choosing a president, beginning with how the candidates emerge and going through the process of campaigning (in which the author played a personal part in 1952) to the struggle for nominations, the hurly-burly of the great conventions, the proposals for improvement in the process, presidential campaigns and the electoral college, winding up with a section "What Can the Citizen Do to Improve the Method."

In commenting on the process of selecting delegates, the pamphlet indulges in some critical commentary, for example:

> In recent years, and particularly in the Republican party in 1952, thousands of newer party members attended local and state conventions for the first time, with varying degrees of success and frustration. Sometimes the party machinery was working so smoothly that less experienced party

members did not know what was going on until it was over. At other times the newcomers had made special efforts to understand their local party procedures and were able to assert significant strength. Fresh partisans were highly successful in the Republican party in some states in 1952.

The pamphlet will be a valuable handbook for citizens in 1956 and in subsequent presidential years. It is written with the admirable clarity we have learned to expect from its author.

R. S. C.

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5 Years of Progress 1948-1953. A Report to the Citizens of Richmond. Richmond (Virginia), Office of the City Manager, 1953. 64 pp. Illus.

After five years of council-manager government, the city manager's office produces this 64-page pictorial brochure proudly presenting, among other things, the high quality and caliber of the councils through three elections, enlistment of one hundred uncompensated public-spirited citizens on advisory boards, increased employee salaries of 25 per cent ($2,000,000), better retirement benefits to employees at lesser cost to them, performance budget with savings of hundreds of thousands of dollars, modern merit system, $2,900,000 from current revenues used for permanent public improvements instead of borrowing, expansion of many services and no increase in tax rates.

R.S.C.

Additional Books, Pamphlets and Articles

Absentee Voting

Reducing Fraud in Absent Voting in Virginia. A Report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia. Richmond, Virginia Division of Purchase and Printing, 1953. 8 pp.

Air Pollution

Legal Aspects of Air Pollution—Parts I and II. By William Harris Bell. New York 1, Powell Magazines Inc., *Modern Sanitation,* October and November 1953. 6 pp. each.

Annexation

Annexation of the Heavy Industrial Area of Corpus Christi. By Stuart A. MacCorkle. Corpus Christi (Texas), Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 38 pp. $1.00.

Blighted Areas

What Cities Can Do to Improve Close-In Blighted Areas. By George O. Consoer and Arthur W. Consoer. New York 16, *The American City,* April 1954. 2 pp.

Budgets

Connecticut Town Tries Program Budgeting. By Hubert W. Stone. New York 21, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* Second Quarter 1954. 3 pp.

Does Missouri Need a Performance Budget? Jefferson City, Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, *Research Report,* February 9, 1954. 7 pp.

State Budgets—1954. By Leon Rothenberg. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* May 1954. 6 pp.

Chief Administrative Officers

New York City Installs City Administrator. By David Bernstein. New York 21, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* Second Quarter 1954. 3 pp.

San Francisco Experience with Chief Administrator. By Alfred F. Smith. New York 21, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* Second Quarter 1954. 3 pp.

City Councils

Your Job as Councilman. By Clayton L. Ringgenberg. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, in cooperation with the League

of Iowa Municipalities, 1954. 74 pp. $1.00.

City-county Consolidation

CONSOLIDATION STILL OFFERS CHANCE TO SHORTEN BALLOT. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 24, 1954. 4 pp.

Civil Defense

H-BOMB—ZONES OF TOTAL AND PARTIAL DESTRUCTION IN PORTLAND AREA. New H-bombs Call for a Revised Look at Taxpayer Civil Defense Costs. Portland 4, Oregon Business & Tax Research, *Your Taxes,* May 1954. 4 pp.

SPOKANE SHOWS IT CAN BE DONE. First Mass Dispersal Test in Any American City Held April 26; Tenth of Population Evacuates Downtown Area; Civil Defense Based on Existing Municipal Agencies. By John J. Lenhart, Los Angeles 17, *Western City,* May 1954. 3 pp.

Congress

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN CONGRESS. By George B. Galloway. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953. xii, 689 pp. $6.00.

Corruption

SO THEY DID BUSINESS WITH SAMISH. Three important companies have lived close to a notorious political corruptionist, "Artie" Samish, czar of the California liquor industry. Two still do. But his conviction for tax fraud offers a chance to break the Samish power and to rid business of a damaging alliance. By Herbert Solow. Chicago 11, Time Inc., *Fortune,* April 1954. 7 pp.

County Government

YOUR WESTCHESTER COUNTY GOVERNMENT. By Jean S. Picker. White Plains (New York), Westchester County Government, 1954. 28 pp. Illus.

Crime

CRIME AND POLITICS IN CHICAGO. THE KOHN REPORT. A Preliminary Report of an Interrupted Investigation. Popular Edition of the Famous Volume 6. By Aaron Kohn. Chicago, Independent Voters of Illinois, 1953. 128 pp. $1.00.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK CITY ANTI-CRIME COMMITTEE. Transcript of Oral Report. By Spruille Braden. New York, the Committee, 1954. 20 pp.

Directories

DIRECTORY OF COUNTY OFFICIALS. 1953-54. Washington, D. C., National Association of County Officials, 1954. 247 pp. $5.00.

Economics

ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF MARYLAND COUNTIES. A Report Prepared for the Subcommittee on Financing of Maryland Health Activities of the Committee on Medical Care. College Park, University of Maryland, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1954. 58 pp.

Education

TWELVE DISTRICTS GET TOGETHER IN SEEKING A SOLUTION TO SCHOOL PROBLEMS in Montgomery County and Chester County. Norristown, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Montgomery Branch, 1954. 80 pp.

Elections

VERIFICATION OF ELECTION RESULTS. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, April 1954. 33 pp.

Federal-state Relations

FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS. By Homer E. Scace. New York 21, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* Second Quarter 1954. 4 pp.

Forms of Government

FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT. (Third edition.) Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1954. 33 pp. 50 cents.

THE STRUCTURE OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN WEST VIRGINIA. By Mavis Andree Mann. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1953. 51 pp.

Home Rule

A Dozen Questions and Answers about Municipal Home Rule. College Park, Maryland Municipal League, 1954. 6 pp.

Housing

Local Development and Enforcement of Housing Codes. By Gilbert R. Barnhart. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research, 1953. 60 pp. 40 cents.

The Slum, The City, And The Citizen. By Albert M. Cole. Nashville 3, Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town & City,* May 1954. 4 pp.

Incentives to Industry

Municipal Initiative in Industrial Promotion. By J. T. Benoit. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities, *Minnesota Municipalities,* April 1954. 3 pp.

Legislation

General Assembly Action, 1954. A Staff Summary of Legislative Enactments. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1954. 40 pp.

Legislative Review of Bills Containing Exceptions to General Law. A Report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia. Richmond, Virginia Division of Purchase and Printing, 1953. 5 pp.

Legislative Research

Interim Studies of the Legislatures. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* May 1954. 4 pp.

Local Government

Summary of Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government—November-December, 1953. By Olive Hall Shadgett. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, 1954. 32 pp. $1.00.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Government in Toronto. By Winston W. Crouch. Chicago 37, American Society for Public Administration, *Public Administration Review,* Spring 1954. 11 pp.

Metropolitan Toronto. By Frederick G. Gardiner. (Address before the American Planning and Civic Association, Columbus, Ohio.) Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1954. 13 pp.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto, Metropolitan Council, 1954. 20 pp. Illus.

The Role of Citizen Research in Metropolitan Communities. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research and Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Civic Affairs,* April 1954. 5 pp.

Municipal Government

Know Your City, Your Elections, Your Schools. By Aaron Simmons. New Rochelle, New York, 1954. 95 pp. (Apply author, City Manager, New Rochelle, N. Y.)

Municipal Problems, 1953. The Forty-fourth Annual Proceedings of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York. Long Beach, June 17, 18, and 19. Albany, the Conference, 1954. 143 pp. $2.50.

The 116th Anniversary of the Town of Milwaukee Finds its Original 106 Square Miles Reduced to Less Than a Mile. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *Bulletin,* May 26, 1954. 7 pp.

Noise Abatement

Quiet, Please! Noise Abatement for Philadelphia. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1954. 29 pp.

Parking

Location Factors for Off-street Parking Facilities. By John F. Hendon and Howard D. Leake. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* March 1954. 7 pp.

Personnel

The Merit System. Our Continuing Responsibility. Providence 3, League of

Women Voters of Rhode Island, 1954. 13 pp. 15 cents.

Planning

IDEAS FOR A BETTER CITY. By Cecil Morgan. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1954. 42 pp.

PLANNING AND FINANCING CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1954. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Public Works

ADVANCE PLANNING AND TIMING OF LOCAL PUBLIC WORKS. Still an Important Stabilization Device. By Robinson Newcomb. New York 16, *The American City,* April 1954. 2 pp.

Purchasing

COOPERATIVE GOVERNMENTAL PURCHASING. By James D. Kitchen. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, March 1953. 25 pp.

Retirement

RETIREMENT PROVISIONS FOR FEDERAL PERSONNEL. Part II. The Relationships Between the Federal Staff Retirement Systems and the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance System. Proposal No. 2—The Civil Service Retirement System. Washington, D. C., Executive Office of the President, Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel, 1954. Variously paged.

Salaries

A SALARY SURVEY. Municipal Employment in Westchester County. Westchester County (New York), Municipal Administrators Association, 1954. 12 pp.

Shopping Centers

A NEW LOOK AT SHOPPING CENTERS. By Robert H. Armstrong. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* May 1954. 4 pp.

State Government

NEVADA GOVERNMENT. A Study of the Administration and Politics of State, County, Township and Cities. By Effie Mona Mack, Idel Anderson and Beulah E. Singleton. Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1953. xiv, 384 pp. $5.00.

State Reorganization

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE STATE REORGANIZATION COMMISSION FROM THE MISSOURI PUBLIC EXPENDITURE SURVEY. By Edward Staples. Jefferson City, the Survey, 1954. 11 pp.

STATE ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION IN MICHIGAN: THE LEGISLATIVE APPROACH. By Frank M. Landers and Howard D. Hamilton. Chicago 37, American Society for Public Administration, *Public Administration Review,* Spring 1954. 13 pp.

Subdivision

REGULATING SUBDIVISIONS. The Control of Plats, Subdivisions, or Dedications. By Floyd M. Jennings and Ernest H. Campbell. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1954. 41 pp.

Surveys

THE CITY GETS A CHECK-UP. A Summary of the Reports of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey and the Temporary State Commission to Study the Organizational Structure of the City of New York with a Note on Progress. New York 38, Citizens Union Research Foundation, Inc., 1954. 15 pp.

A COMMUNITY SURVEY. Newmarket Looks Ahead. By Bruce R. Dick, Marguerite M. Molloy, Shirley F. Price, James D. Reardon, Allan M. Towle and Rebecca B. Worcester under the supervision of David C. Knapp. Durham, University of New Hampshire, Department of Government, Public Administration Service, 1954. 101 pp.

DO YOU DARE TO RATE YOUR TOWN? *Town Journal's* tested questionnaire may touch off civic improvements you never dreamed possible. Look how Pennsboro,

West Virginia, used it. By Donald S. Stroetzel. Philadelphia 5, *Pathfinder . . . The Town Journal,* February 1954. 4 pp. 20 cents.

Taxation and Finance

ADDITIONAL POWERS OF TAXATION FOR ADOPTION BY COUNTIES. Report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia. Richmond, Virginia Division of Purchase and Printing, 1953. 22 pp.

COMPENDIUM OF CITY GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1952. The 481 Cities Having More Than 25,000 Inhabitants in 1950. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1953. 163 pp. 65 cents.

FEDERAL AND STATE AID. Key Points Stressed at Tax Institute Symposium. Princeton, Tax Institute, Inc., *Tax Policy,* February-March 1954. 8 pp. 50 cents.

FEDERAL EXCISE TAXES. Exemptions Allowed Local and State Governments. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, April 1954. 4 pp. 50 cents.

FEDERAL FINANCES: 1. THE PROBLEM. 2. REDUCING EXPENDITURES. 3. THE TAX PROGRAM. New York 20, Committee on Federal Tax Policy, 1954. 27 pp., 30 pp. and 36 pp. respectively. $1.00 each.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1953. New York 11, Port of New York Authority, 1954. 40 pp.

THE MICHIGAN BUSINESS RECEIPTS TAX—ITS BASIS AND ECONOMIC THEORY. By Alan L. Gornick. (Address before the University of Michigan Law School Institute.) Dearborn, Ford Motor Company, 1953. 24 pp.

MUNICIPAL RATING SYSTEMS. By A. R. Hutchinson. Melbourne (Australia), Municipal Association of Victoria, *Australian Municipal Journal,* March 1954. 3 pp.

A REPORT UPON THE 1953 OR EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL SURVEY OF COUNTY, CITY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT IN TENNESSEE. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1954. 88 pp.

STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS ON FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES AND TAX SOURCES. Jefferson City, Missouri Chamber of Commerce, January 1954. 27 pp.

STATE TAX LEGISLATION IN 1953. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, Inc., *Tax Policy,* November-December 1953. 40 pp. 50 cents.

THIS TAX PROBLEM. Lincoln 8 (Nebraska), Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin,* April 1954. 6 pp.

Town Government

DIGEST OF 1954 LAWS AFFECTING TOWNS. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1954. 48 pp.

Traffic

URBAN TRAFFIC. A FUNCTION OF LAND USE. By Robert B. Mitchell and Chester Rapkin. New York, Columbia University Press, 1954. 244 pp. $5.00.

Traffic Safety

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for August 1954: SIGNS OF LIFE. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1954. Variously paged.

Waterworks

RECOMMENDED REORGANIZATION OF THE MUNICIPAL WATERWORKS SYSTEM, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. San Antonio, Southwest Research Institute, Department of Industrial Economics, 1954. 112 pp., charts.

Zoning

WE SHOULD BE REALISTIC AROUT ZONING. Needs and Attitudes for Flexible Zoning. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Horizons,* May 1954. 2 pp.

Inside the Office . . .

Howard P. Jones, former executive director of the League and currently on leave between foreign assignments with the State Department, paid several calls at the new NML offices and held extensive conversations with Alfred Willoughby. Mrs. Jones accompanied him on one occasion. His most recent post was Counsellor of Embassy at Formosa.

John Shinn of the American Assembly discussed future assembly programming with the staff. . . . **Edward Jones,** executive director of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers' Association, visited the office to review recent local governmental developments in various parts of the country.

Roger Freeman, special assistant to Governor Arthur B. Langlie of Washington, and Professor **Weldon Cooper,** of the University of Virginia, called to discuss state government problems and the 60th National Conference on Government. . . . **Miss Belen Abreu,** chief attorney to the Philippines Election Commission, called on John Bebout for advice on her tour of study in the United States.

Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Council member from Des Moines, inspected the new League office in early June. . . . **Albert Rudnick** and **L. Irving Smith,** of Albany, New York, consulted with staff on local governmental problems in Albany. . . . **C. Bruce Smith,** governmental consultant and son of Bruce Smith, director of the Institute of Public Administration, called on John Keith.

Howard P. Jones

More than 30 preliminary inquiries about the **1954 All-America Cities Awards** have been received thus far. . . . **Dr. Robert E. Martin,** of Howard University's Department of Government, consulted with John Bebout about civic education in colleges. . . . **Henry Fagin,** of the Regional Plan Association, discussed the NML's role in regional planning with several staff members. . . . Professor **Joseph McLean** of Princeton University, recently appointed Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development by Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey, visited the office recently to discuss the current series of excerpts from Project East River being run in the REVIEW. Dr. McLean, a consultant on Project East River, was author of the report appraising NML activities.

A. E. Buck, governmental consultant, author and leading authority on public budgeting, visited the office to discuss his manuscript of the revision of *Reorganization of State Governments in the United States,* published by the League in 1938.

(Continued on next page)

John Bebout and Belen Abreu

Women's Panel Report Published

A report entitled *Women As Campaigners* has been issued by the League. It is second in a series of mimeographed transcripts of panel sessions held in November during the 59th National Conference on Government at Richmond, Virginia.

Chairman of the panel, which discussed practical ways in which women can contribute to campaigns for candidates and issues, was Margaret Hickey of the *Ladies' Home Journal.* The panel included Mrs. John G. Lee, president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Mrs. Tom Ragland, Democratic National Committeewoman, Tennessee; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, ex-president, League of Women Voters of Des Moines; Mrs. Cecil L. Brown, candidate, North Plainfield (New Jersey) Charter Commission; Mrs. Polly Cary Woodson, Republican chairman, Ridgewood, New Jersey; Mrs. Edward Kuhn, Women's Division, Cincinnati City Charter Committee; Mrs. Preston Farley, secretary, Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision; Mrs. Shirley Wheeler, League of Women Voters of Arlington County, Virginia; Mrs. T. Jackson Waller, Women's Republican Club, Seaford, Delaware; Mrs. Martha Cheney, Republican district committeewoman, Stamford, Connecticut; Mrs. Charles Wilder, secretary, Citizens Association of Kansas City; Miss Phyllis Otey, vice chairman, Republican State Central Committee, Virginia; Mrs. Kathryn H. Stone, Virginia legislature, Arlington; Mrs. Dorothy Davis, mayor, Washington, Virginia.

The report covers 32 pages and is available from the League's office for 50 cents, or may be obtained on request without charge by sustaining members.

Seed to Speak in Seattle

Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant directo of the League, will attend the Institut of Government in Seattle, Washingtor July 12-16. Mr. Seed will be th luncheon speaker on July 14 and wi talk on the subject "Good Governmer Is No Accident." The Institute of Gov ernment is an annual summer con ference sponsored by the University o Washington and attended by public of ficials, civic leaders and teachers fror the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. Seed recently returned from trip to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Day ton during which he conferred wit League officers and representatives o citizen organizations.

Bromage Appointed

Arthur W. Bromage, League Counci member and professor of political sci ence at the University of Michigan, ha been appointed a member of the Mich igan Commission on Intergovernmenta Relations by Governor G. Mennen Wil liams. Professor Bromage's latest book *Councilmen at Work*, was published recently.

Inside the Office

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Donald C. Wagner, executive di rector of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, visited the office recently

Donald C. Wagner and Alfred Willou